

# LABOR ACIE

THE VOICE OF PROGRESSIVE LABOR

## Wild Intellectuals and Sober Workmen

A. J. MUSTE

## *The Intellectual and the Labor Movement*

ABRAHAM EPSTEIN

## Cut the Racket

DAVID J. SAPOSS

## *Kids on the March*

KARL LORE

AUGUST, 1930

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Vol. XIX—No. 8

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## IN THIS ISSUE

WHATEVER fortunes there may be in store for the future of Labor in the United States it can be confidently stated that men and women whose training makes possible a more reflective and objective as well as a more inclusive view of the labor problem will play some part in the direction of the march of the masses. The term "intellectual" may be abhorrent to those who directly grapple with concrete labor situations, with the labor leader who is fighting for the every day interests of his membership, but that does not mean that the problem either begins or ends there and that there is no place in the Movement for the idealist and visionary. As a matter of fact, these latter cannot be kept from interfering, either through advice, actual leadership or criticism, with the progress of Labor's advance. The historic function of the intellectual and his contribution to the cause of the workers are told in this issue by two individuals who by training and experience, are fitted admirably for such an analysis. In "Wild Intellectuals and Sober Workmen," by A. J. Muste, Chairman of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, minister, labor leader, and educator and "The Intellectual and the Labor Movement," by Abraham Epstein, Executive Secretary of the American Association for Old Age Security, formerly secretary of the Pennsylvania Commission on Old Age Pensions, the relation of the intellectual and Labor are discussed in terms that leave no doubt as to the relative importance of each to the other.

CLOSELY allied with the whole problem of the intellectual is the development of one of the most sinister activities in the Labor Movement—that of racketeering. Business unionism, with its lack of idealism, has brought in its wake the spirit of personal gain which in numerous instances has turned the social purposes of organized labor to the narrower paths of individual aggrandizement. David J. Saposs, instructor at Brookwood Labor College, author

of numerous books on labor and easily one of the best informed minds on the history and development of the American Labor Movement, tells the story of the inroads which this attempt at getting something for nothing has made in labor ranks in "Cut the Racket." The article is based almost entirely on the speech Mr. Saposs delivered on the same subject at the conference on racketeering arranged by the League for Industrial Democracy last June, which has caused such widespread, lively and sometimes bitter discussion.

IS America becoming Russianized? may well be the title of the article which Justus Ebert contributes under the heading "The Old and the New." Startling are the possibilities of our future economy which Ebert suggests, after presenting the facts of our latest agricultural development in the light of the Russian agronomic collectivization. Are we on the road of land socialization through peaceful evolution? The author holds out a hope of such a possibility. Justus Ebert, who is known to our old readers as the conductor of "The March of the Machine" each month, is editor of the LITHOGRAPHERS JOURNAL, the official organ of the Amalgamated Lithographers of America, treasurer of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action and a contributor to LABOR AGE for many years.

KIDS on the March" evaluates the constructive educational work now going on among several groups in an attempt to win the youth for the Labor cause. Twenty million workers' children are running around loose, the author tells us, without any comprehensive effort being made to enlist their loyalty for the organized advancement of their fellow men. The few organizations which are valiantly trying to stem the tide of ignorance and indifference cover but a pitiful few of the millions involved. Yet their achievements and hopes are important, if only as a starting point. Karl Lore, the author of the article, has but recently graduated from Brookwood and has been in personal contact with some of the activities he writes of.

THE story of the convention of the American Federation of Teachers, entitled "Teachers' Union Backs Social Insurance," shows how one group of intellectuals contributes in concrete fashion to the forward march of Labor.

PART of the story at least of "Summer Brings New Opportunities to C. P. L. A." could fittingly be included in Lore's recital of the "Kids on the March." That part deals with the summer educational work of the Y. W. C. A. and the summer schools for women workers where young women earning their living in industry come together from ten days to six weeks learning something of their economic problems and methods for meeting them. At most of these camps and schools C. P. L. A.ers were present helping in the work. The rest of the tale has to do with the organization and agitation work of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action.

FOLLOWING the Fight, Flashes from the Labor World, The March of the Machine, Say It With Books, In Other Lands and What Our Readers Think complete this issue.

# · LABOR · AGE ·

August, 1930

## EDITORIALS

WHEN right after the stock crash President Hoover called in conference business representatives and later, labor leaders, to exact from the first a pledge not to reduce wages and from the second not to seek increases in wages, the Conference for Progressive Labor Action issued a statement denouncing the pact as a bad bargain for labor. We maintained that nothing can stop employers from slashing wages while labor ties its hands by foregoing any attempt at betterment. Subsequently LABOR AGE published a series of instances where wages were immediately cut, regardless of the Hoover pledge.

### **The Value of Presidential Promises**

In the May issue of FACTS FOR WORKERS, as reliable a statistical review as is published in the country, issued by the Labor Bureau, Inc. of New York City, added information is advanced showing how lightly employers consider their promise to the President. Wage cuts are still continuing. The latest to succumb is the National Cash Register Co., announcing a 10 per cent wage reduction to its 6,000 employees at the Dayton, Ohio plant, effective July 14.

In addition to 74 cases of reductions reported by the U. S. Department of Labor, numerous announcements of further slashes in the workers' earnings are cited.

"Fifty hosiery mills in the United States have abolished extra rates for continuous operation services," FACTS FOR WORKERS shows, "which amounts to actually decreasing wage earnings, while members of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Tin Workers in the Youngstown, Ohio district are to receive \$.25 a ton less as wages during May and June as a result of a decline in the average price of steel bars. Similarly, employees of copper producers in Arizona are to receive a preliminary wage reduction based on the average selling prices of copper during April. 'Average selling prices for May will, of course, be lower and hence another wage reduction will take place on June 1.'"

In view of this concrete illustration of the heedless swing of ruthless capitalism, which when in search of profits regards its own pledges as scraps of paper, the officials of the American Federation of Labor may be less prone in the future to place too great a trust in presidential promises. It may also be the reason for the attitude of utter helplessness which the A. F. of L. assumes towards our present economic debacle. Hopelessly regarding the scene, it throws up its hands in despair.

"The depression is world wide," explains the A. F. of L. MONTHLY SURVEY OF BUSINESS. "Workers and employers alike have been swept along by conditions they were not organized to control. Now, although some may be less affected than others, the majority must face the conditions described above."

Thus has hope left the great American Labor Movement.

Having been disappointed in Hoover's powers, it now has faith in no agency, and least of all in itself.

THOUGH comparative quiet reigns in the miners' union situation, after the excitement of the winter and spring, important developments are taking place. In Illinois the courts have sustained the injunction against John L. Lewis, ruling that Lewis and his Indianapolis administration

### **Insurgent Miners Must Act**

are guilty of contempt in setting up a provisional district administration in Illinois as a rival to the regular one which joined the Howat-Germer-Walker group. Though Lewis was fined only \$500 for this violation, the decision should help the Howat organization considerably in retaining and perhaps strengthening its hold on Illinois, the key to the bituminous situation. To date about 80 per cent of Illinois has been under the control of the latter, the remainder sticking by Lewis.

In Kansas, where the operators have sided with Lewis and the men with Howat, things appear at a stale-mate for the present.

From the standpoint of the Howat insurgents the most unfortunate aspect of the situation is that amid their preoccupation with the struggle to hold Illinois and with the depression in the industry they seem unable to make an effective move to organize in the non-union fields. Any move to do so means strike, and how can a strike be financed?

The insurgents cannot long retain the confidence, however, either of their own membership or of the rank and file of miners everywhere unless they make a move to organize. We are inclined to think that they would be well advised to make a bold venture somewhere before long, relying upon trade unionists and liberals everywhere to rally to the support of a militant organization in a basic industry.

THE anthracite miners are holding to the regular Lewis administration, though they have made it clear that they have little love for Lewis himself. With the new agreement between operators and miners negotiated there seems little likelihood of very serious disturbance in the hard

### **Anthracite Miners Still Loyal to Lewis**

coal industry for the next five years.

Lewis was able to get an agreement for the anthracite miners without a costly struggle. This will strengthen his hold on that section of the union. However, there are intimations that there is a great deal of dissatisfaction with the terms of the new agreement. He may now hold on to the United Mine Workers of America for a long time and

wage a strenuous fight against the insurgents in the soft coal section of the industry. And it is possible that if the anthracite miners once find themselves safely past the crisis of the agreement renewal, they may refuse to let Lewis use their per capita to fight the bituminous insurgents and to build himself an invincible machine by a victory over them.

Finally, the progress of mechanization in the industry reminds us that there are problems of unemployment, etc., which no purely economic organization will be able to solve. Political action is needed. Lewis will not let the miners move to build a Labor Party. Will they submit on this point also or display an intelligent and courageous initiative?

**I** LLEGITIMATE alliances often bring results that are very discomfiting. These are the consequences they must expect who meander off the path of righteousness and dilly-dally by the way side. The unholy alliance between the American Federation of Labor and the Democratic and Republican Parties, known as American Labor's time honored non-partisan political policy, has now borne fruit. The child is not much to Labor's liking.

Just a very short while ago William Green, when reminded of the Labor Party's victory in Great Britain, was mocking of labor's achievements across the seas and laudatory of the A. F. of L.'s own political conquests. So, he replied in essence, what of it? After all these years of toil the workers in Great Britain can only show a bare plurality in Parliament, always in danger of being overthrown by a Conservative and Liberal coalition vote. But us—yes, just look at us. We control a majority in Congress which is always ready to pass the kind of legislation that labor desires. That was the proud prospective father speaking before the momentous event of childbirth showed the complex of the progeny.

Now that Congress has adjourned and the baby proved still born, William Green turns away in disgust, murmuring, "A plague on that house."

For the A. F. of L. had set its heart on a nice anti-injunction offspring. But somehow the old lady, Congress, with labor's heralded majority and all, just couldn't make the grade. The unholy alliance wasn't strong enough to give birth to a healthy anti-injunction baby. The dead brat, now placed squarely on labor's doorstep, will always be a reminder of labor's present political misalliance.

**O** F course, with the barren results of its non-partisan political policy apparent to all, the A. F. of L.'s just recently heralded pride has taken a fall. Instead of boastfulness a sense of shame is permeating headquarters. The details of its non-partisan disgrace is jealously guarded against prying eyes. Seekers for information on the exact record of Congressmen whom Labor calls its friends are uncereemoniously turned away empty handed. Fancy reasons are given for such unsympathetic denials but the truth cannot be avoided. The A. F. of L. is very much ashamed of the fruits of its non-partisan political policy.

Such an attitude is a turn for the better. Boastfulness does not cause contrition of the spirit and without contrition there can be no change. Shame leads to a contrite

heart. And as every one knows a contrite heart is the first essential to an acceptance of the faith that saves.

Advocates of independent political action for Labor should thereupon take courage. The American Federation of Labor, now that it is conscious of the errors of its political ways—so much so that it shamefacedly attempts to hide the barrenness of its past policy—is in a fit mood to embrace the newer political doctrine. The Boston convention may yet see a change of heart that will lead the A. F. of L. into the path of political righteousness.

**R**ECENT weeks have brought two pronouncements of great importance on the situation in India. One of these may be considered highly favorable from the standpoint of those who want to see a just, democratic and if possible peaceful solution of the Indian problem. The other cannot. In the latter instance we have in mind the report of the Simon Commission which errs not so much by what it does as by what it fails to do. It offers no bold and comprehensive program and while some years ago it might have been helpful, it is not surprising that today it is rejected by practically all parties in India.

The Simon Commission had a curse on it from the outset since it included only representatives of England and none of India on its membership. We believe the British Labor Party made a mistake in permitting one of its leaders to serve on the Commission and we regret now that this Laborite signed the report.

In view of all this the other pronouncement to which we refer is the more welcome. The Indian Viceroy, Lord Irwin, has solemnly stated on behalf of the British Labor Government that the Simon report is not to be binding on the Round Table Conference which is set for October to discuss plans for changes in the government and status of India. If now some further assurance could be given that a definite move toward establishment of full dominion status would be made immediately if representatives of the various active political elements in India could agree on plans for such a move, it might be that the leaders of the Indian independence movement could see their way clear to participate in the Round Table Conference and that they would be on the way of a peaceful solution.

This is a matter for these Indian leaders themselves to decide, however. LABOR AGE believes that progressive and militant laborites in the United States should support them in whatever move they deem just and necessary for putting an end to the dominance of British imperialism in their land.

**W**HILE the future course of India's independence is uncertain at present the civil disobedience movement continues. We do not see how it could be otherwise, so long as the British government does not more clearly reveal how far it is willing to have the October conference go and so long as political prisoners fill India's jails. Nor will continued violent repression of the movement to picket liquor shops, boycott English goods, etc., help matters. If it be argued, as it constantly is, that a government cannot tolerate open defiance without being compelled to abdicate, the answer is that abdication is precisely what violent suppression of the independence movement will result in—in 1930 as in 1776.

It is indeed a hard dilemma for the Labor Party to face



and we have no desire to be supercilious and hyper-critical on the side-lines; but it cannot extricate itself by going back on its own basic principles and ideals and becoming the murderer of oriental rebels and saints in order to protect British imperialism.

**T**HE joke is on Peter Brady! He wanted the American Federation of Labor fraternal delegate to England to read the English Labor Movement a lesson in practical statesmanship citing labor banking in this country to this end.

### The Laugh's On Peter

But look at it! The Railway Clerks are compelled to sell their bank as a branch to a chain system. At the same time the Locomotive Engineers Convention decided, according to the July LOCOMOTIVE ENGINEERS' JOURNAL "to cut loose from the 'strangling alliances' and get back to a real honest-to-goodness labor union."

As this winds up the Engineers' unfortunate venture into banking who will deny that the laugh's on Peter?

By the way, talking of "strangling alliances," will Peter please tell us how much control Tammany Hall politicians, contractors, builders, and business men generally have over the "labor" bank of which he is president?

**R**ECENTLY the General Electric Company announced the establishment of a scheme of voluntary unemployment insurance. The employee will deposit about one per cent of his earnings and the Company will contribute an equal amount. In periods of unemployment those at work will bear the brunt of the employees' share of the contributions.

### Unemployment Insurance A National Problem

We are informed that the New York State Industrial Commission has said that "the plan is of world-wide significance and embodies a piece of industrial statesmanship of the first order." That, we submit, depends upon the point of view.

The problem of unemployment insurance is so urgent and the provisions for it thus far advanced in this country so infinitesimal that we are disposed to welcome any experiment to meet the situation. The General Electric Company, is, however, a notorious open-shop concern. Is this another "statesmanlike" welfare scheme to forestall union organization? And since, as one of the Scripps-Howard papers observed in commenting on the plan, "it will not be a substitute for compulsory public unemployment insurance," will the General Electric Company statesmen be found working for state and federal legislation to provide unemployment insurance, or not? That will be the acid test.

Unemployment insurance is a national problem and the test of the sincerity of those employers who have inaugurated insurance schemes in their own industry will depend upon their interest in advancing such a measure to cover all the workers.

**T**HE House of Representative Investigating Committee under the Chairmanship of Congressman Fish now holding hearings on the "communist menace," may be the first signs that the glove of democracy is being discarded showing the hand of autocracy, or the ruthless dictatorship of wealth, underneath. Very likely the Fish Committee of itself is of no great importance and will do nothing

more than provide a pleasant interlude to a handful of Congressmen and an opportunity for publicity for another handful of modern witch-hunters. Woll, Marvin, Easley and some reactionary ladies of both sexes will get a great thrill out of the "disclosures" on the one hand and the "discoveries" on the other hand that will be made and unearthed. Thus far, as every intelligent citizen could have foretold beforehand, the only thing the Fish Committee has accomplished, is to give an opportunity to rehash the same lurid "secrets" that have appeared under varying headlines in newspapers.

The importance of the committee, however, is the trend it shows in the gradual delimitation of American democracy. Under the most careful interpretation of our Constitution no such investigation should be tolerated. Communists have a right, given them by the preamble, not only to advocate a peaceful change but one that requires force for its culmination, if necessary. But our wealth is too concentrated, our society too rigid to permit such an interpretation of our national charter. There are too few people owning too much wealth for the freedom guaranteed on the written page to be translated into action without molestation. These few hold the reins tightly drawn and their safety becomes the paramount concern of the nation.

The Fish Committee is only an incident boldly exposing our passing democratic prerogatives. Far more important are the terrible repressions of any acts which may remotely be connected with mass advancement. The holding of a number of communists in the South on a charge of rebellion for advocating racial equality—with the penalty of death staring them in the face—is a far more serious matter, not serious to these communists so much as to the country to which we dedicate our love. Sacco-Vanzetti died on the electric chair. Mooney and Billings have rotted innocently fourteen years in jail. The accused communists could burn easily and all their souls would be saved. But in the process the charred bodies of Sacco-Vanzetti and the charred hopes of Mooney and Billings are blackening the soul of America. They are making of the land an autocracy of wealth as opposed to a land of liberty.

These are the important considerations in all these incidents, of which the Fish Committee is but the foam helplessly floundering upon the crest of the waves of reaction. Where is the America of democracy, of freedom, of equal opportunity when men and women are done to death on clumsily trumped up charges for their opinions: when freedom of expression is stifled with the policeman's club, the soldier's bayonet, the government's durand and the electric chair?

The devils in hell must laugh with glee at this uncovering of the mailed fist, this exposure of the crashing hand of plutocracy's dictatorship. For if by such methods they would make America safe for themselves, these bankers and industrialists only make the chasm wider and deeper for their inheritors to fall into. By the blood now spilt by men and women striving to lift mankind a step higher, an inch nearer heaven, they are preparing a sham-ble for themselves and the future generation that will drown the nation in an indiscriminate deluge of blood.

In this business the acts of the labor leaders who join hands with the people's exploiters—who applaud when workers' blood is spilt; who egg on reaction to its feast of human suffering and degradation will come to plague them beyond salvation.

# Wild Intellectuals and Sober Workmen

By A. J. MUSTE

**T**HERE is current a "theory of the Labor Movement" which is based on the supposed contrast between the role of "the intellectual" and that of the wage-worker and "trade unionist" in the Movement. The theory, in my opinion, is contrary to fact, and now more than ever dangerous and harmful.

The theory is to the effect that the intellectual is visionary, radical, and wants to reconstruct society as a whole according to ideal standards; the wage-worker, on the other hand, and the pure and simple trade-unionist who knows what the worker really wants according to the proponents of this theory, cares nothing about any general reconstruction of the social order. What he wants is a job, security of tenure in that job, good pay, reasonable hours, tolerable conditions of work, and not too much "lip" from the foreman. If the average worker can get these, he will be only too happy to leave the management of industry to other and possibly wiser heads, and speculations about Utopia to theorists who don't know any better.

Furthermore, according to the proponents of this theory of the Labor Movement, labor throughout the world is tending to escape from the misleading tutelage and direction of the radical and visionary intellectual, in sticking to its own simple and immediate aims and following its own realistic and practical leaders. Labor will thus form a bulwark against, rather than an instrument for, radical, social and economic reconstruction.

There is, of course, an element of truth in this analysis, as is usual in such cases. The average man at the bench or the mine face or the store counter is not a social theorist nor, in ordinary times, a raving radical. That is sufficiently obvious, but there is no

point in saying that with great solemnity and then assuming that it furnishes the basis for an elaborate theory of the Labor Movement! It is also historically correct to say that in the beginning of the Labor Movement in any country or section of a country or industrial group, leadership is likely to come almost exclusively from without and probably from the formally educated sympathizers with labor, the unorganized group being too deeply submerged and handicapped to be able to move under its own power in the face of the opposition aroused by every stirring of revolt, and that later when unions gain a foothold leadership comes from non-intellectuals. There is usually a tendency in this second stage to decry the intellectual, emphasize immediate aims exclusively, etc.

To point to the experimental, idealistic, rebellious, Utopian character of the Labor Movement in its earlier stages and then to the sober, practical, sensible pure and simple unionism of the second stage, and to ascribe as the reason for the difference the fact that "the crazy intellectual" misled the workers in the first stage and that the realistic trade unionist led him aright in the second stage, is to miss a good many important elements in the picture, however. The conditions which unorganized workers face when the industrial revolution first invades a particular region or industry themselves largely determine the type of organization which workers can or will devise to meet them. Similarly, when capitalism stabilizes itself in an industry or region, when economic conditions are generally favorable and the level of real wages for the workers is rising, another type of unionism develops to meet the changed conditions.

Broadly speaking, Chartism and the New Model Unionism in Great Britain belong to different periods in Britain's economic development. The first could not have existed in the 1860's nor the second in the 1840's, even if the leadership in the two periods could have been exchanged. Similarly the A. F. of L. could not have come into being in the United States in the 1820's even if Samuel Gompers had lived then and not half a century later.

While it is true that in a typical situation such as the British, the experimental, Utopian movement of the first period is replaced by straight trade unionism, disregarding the unskilled workers, renouncing political action, etc., it is also true that this second type in its turn had to give place to a third. Craft unionism was not enough to cope with advancing capitalism, and industrial unionism had to be developed. Many condi-

## THE THINKER



Rodin

tions affecting the worker and his family could not be handled through his union; political measures had to be taken and a labor political party was accordingly brought into being. The plain man at the bench who was no social theorist, and in ordinary times had no great hankering for revolution, learned that he jolly well had to know something about world-conditions and economic theories when developments in India closed Lancashire cotton mills and juggling with war debts and reparations robbed South Wales coal of a market. There came a day when the same plain man at the bench was ready to go on a General Strike and was not too happy or eager to go back to work on the orders of his leaders before the struggle had been won. And if during the second period the leadership of the intellectuals was of less importance than in the first, in this third period the role of such men and women as MacDonald, Snowden, the Webbs, G. D. H. Cole, Tawney and countless others can hardly be overestimated.

### Intellectuals' Role In the Movement

While one may distinguish certain phases through which the Labor Movement passes and ascribe a somewhat more prominent role to this type of leadership or that in a particular phase, the point may easily be pressed too far. The fact is clear to any one who has more than a cursory acquaintance with the Labor Movement in any of its periods and groupings that the intellectual has played a pre-eminently important part in all of them. As legal advisers, as economic counsellors, as editors and writers of the labor press, in cooperative or political enterprises, as trade union leaders, especially in countries where teachers and other professional workers are organized, intellectuals have helped to guide the destinies of the movement, sometimes ably and well and sometimes not, as has been the case with others also. Intellectuals are found cooperating with and helping to guide the policies of all kinds of unions and labor organizations — reactionary, conservative, progressive, socialist, communist, and what have you!

In each wing of the movement you will on occasion find bitter criticism of the intellectual—that is, the intellectual who is not in full accord with the tendency of that particular wing! In A. F. of L. circles he is often damned as a fool or a dangerous, reckless red; in Communist circles he is just as vociferously damned as a weak-

kneed, overcautious, lukewarm liberal or counter-revolutionary. And just as you find Chester Wrights and Wallings on the one hand damning the hue and cry against intellectuals as theorists and crazy reds, you will find intellectuals in left wing circles joining in the damning of fellow-intellectuals for opposite reasons. Under the circumstances, it seems sufficiently obvious that in this, as in similar instances, resort is had to pinning a nasty-sounding label on a proposition in the absence of sound argument against it, as putting the curse on industrial unionism or a labor party or social insurance or public ownership or the abolition of war by saying that intellectuals are trying to put it over on the honest workingman!

When it comes to warning against intellectuals as a class, I am inclined to think that the lefts may be more nearly right in their reasons than the rights. Is there anyone who has an actual acquaintance with the educated classes, with people in the professions, with intellectuals generally, who really believes that they are chiefly remarkable for the daring of their speculations, their utterances and their actions? Unless, of course, you want to make the definition to suit a special purpose, and call only those who have advanced views on any question intellectuals! But otherwise, is it not among them that we find the bulwarks of orthodoxy and conservatism in all lands—as well as a minority who do dare to think and act? I have gone about a good deal during the past year in the eastern half of this country from north to south, and the timidity, the fear, the lack of courage to speak up which marks groups such as teachers, social workers, preachers, editors, in what is supposed to be the land of Thomas Jefferson is appalling. They cannot surpass workers in this regard in this period of economic depression, but they certainly equal them—and with far less excuse!

Turning back for a moment to our consideration of changing phases in the development of the Labor Movement, it seems to me that those who



The Railway Clerk  
Employers' experts must be matched by labor representatives who know their onions.

argue that the Labor Movement is now pretty generally throughout the world accepting trade unionism as against political and intellectual leadership, is passing into a phase of conciliation and practicality, and abandoning the idea of revolution or radical reconstruction of the economic and social order, exhibit a plain case of making the wish or the fear father to the thought. It may be noted as not without some significance that you can get this observation that the Labor Movement in general is becoming a bulwark against fundamental change from both extreme conservatives and extreme radicals.

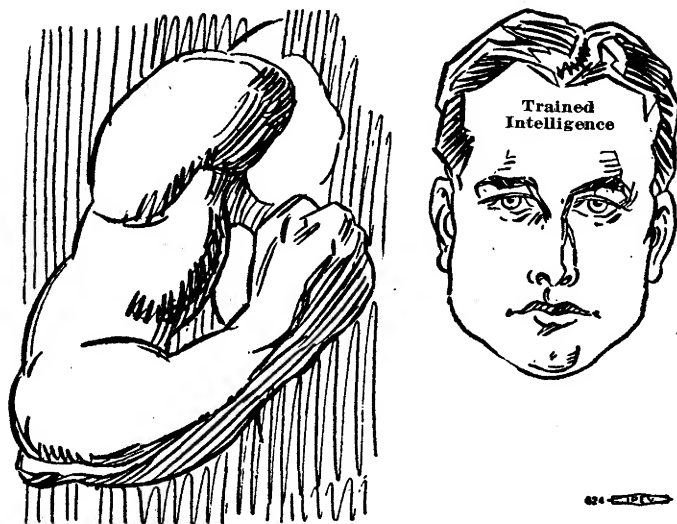
### Unscientific Deduction

A certain reaction there has obviously been in recent years. Some sections of labor have perhaps become permanently reactionary. But to deduce a permanent tendency for the Labor Movement as a whole from the very special situation of the recent post-war period is absurd and utterly unscientific. Those who now think that labor will never again be militant and revolutionary are probably as far wrong as those who ten years ago thought that the social revolution was just around the corner in every country on earth. Despite the general reaction in recent years and the extreme reaction in certain quarters, compare the Labor Movement throughout the world as a whole with the Movement before the war—in numbers, in prestige, in concrete achievements for workers, in the range of problems with which it is dealing and in any other respect you may choose and you will have a tough time making out that labor is a giant falling asleep rather than waking up!

And this brings us to our final and most important observation, namely



## COOPERATION



Adapted from a cartoon by Jerger

The mind which has been trained to visualize the Labor Movement as a whole as well as its purposes working with the organized strength of labor can hasten the attainment of labor's goal.

that the business of pitting the workers against the intellectual and seeking to minimize the role of the latter, is a peculiarly harmful and dangerous thing at just this stage in the history of labor and of the world.

Unless practically all our leading students of world affairs are hopeless-

ailed in a simpler time. Furthermore, labor once organized, whether on the union, the political, or the cooperative field has to reckon with complex world-conditions and faces the most intricate problems. Under such conditions—and who can deny that they are the conditions labor confronts—how can

ly insane, we are in a very critical period. Indeed, the ordinary citizen has but to look at India, at China, at Egypt, at the worldwide economic depression, at our mounting expenditures for war preparations, to sense this. Obviously, also, the American Labor Movement in its attempt to organize workers under modern conditions faces a terrific and perplexing task. It is impossible to organize by the hit and miss method that av-

we dispense with the man trained in economics, finances, psychology, speaking, writing, organizing methods, etc.? Even the actual work of organizing in big basic industries, certainly the planning of organization campaigns under modern conditions, may have to be done by specially trained men, not to mention numerous other phases of labor activity. Capitalism is increasingly willing to spend its millions and billions to train experts who can serve and defend it. How can labor cope with them if it has no trained forces? Those who under these circumstances, for whatever reason, seek to drive a wedge between the so-called intellectual and the so-called worker, do no service to the latter any more than to the former.

This is not to suggest that the intellectual is a Messiah or Moses coming from the outside to lead labor into the promised land. They are brothers; they can and should serve each other. Together they can help to make a decent world for all who produce. Together they can do something about building industrial unions and a labor party; establishing social insurance; securing freedom of speech and press; developing democratic control in industry; outlawing war and building an international democracy of the workers, for the workers, by the workers.

# The Intellectual and the Labor Movement

By ABRAHAM EPSTEIN

THE conflict between the intellectuals and the rank and file is probably as old as civilization itself. From time immemorial the former have tried to lead the workers into newer and broader paths while the latter have looked with suspicion and often with hostility towards their friends from above. This has been especially true in the radical movements. No radical group anywhere, whether in the political, economic or cooperative field, has escaped this struggle. The intellectuals have been accused both of being mere "Reformists" and of tending to be ultra "Revolutionary." Consistency not being demanded of either the workers themselves, or the leaders emerging directly from them, they have generally escaped any blame on this score. As the radical movements abroad are growing in power and strength, this conflict is gradually dis-

appearing in most European nations.

That such a conflict should have existed at all seems pitiful. Probably no one abroad today would question either the indispensability or the inevitability of this leadership in the European Labor or Socialist Movements. The success of these movements is inconceivable without the intellectuals. One can hardly picture socialism without Marx and Engels, anarchism without Bakunin and Kropotkin or even the British Labor Party without the MacDonalds and the Snowdens. There is probably not a man in Great Britain today who would not acknowledge the vital contributions made to the welfare of the Labor Movement and the British masses as a whole by the Fabian Society and the

Independent Labor Party. Whatever social progress has been made in France is due almost entirely to the intellectuals in the early and present Socialist and Labor Movements. The contributions made by this group in Germany are too well known to require emphasis.

It may be said that in European countries it is now generally recognized that the intellectual is as indispensable to the working class as sunlight is to the flower or the plow to the farmer. The antagonism in European labor and radical movements was not to the intellectual in the dictionary sense of the word. It was not hostility to the man who was possessed of the "power or faculty of knowing, as distinguished from the power to feel and to will." The conflict arose not because of any objection to reason as such, but generally to the

type of person possessed of these powers. Because of the prevailing socio-economic conditions, the European intellectual usually came from groups or strata outside the working class itself. It was his zeal and faith in the cause of the workers which brought him into their midst. Many of the greatest European leaders of the radical and socialist movements came from the upper or professional classes. The differences in the economic level, social standing and the intellectual grasp between these leaders and the mass of workers made the conflict inescapable and is fully understandable.

But whatever justification existed in the European Labor Movements for such antagonisms, the continued hostility towards the intellectuals on the part of the American Labor Movement can neither be justified nor explained. The contention that we are still in the pioneer days of a radical movement does not satisfy. For it is significant that while in the European socialist movements, this conflict persisted for many years, it never gained a foothold in the American socialist movement. The Hillquits, Bergers, and Thomases have been and are as respected as the Debbses, Maurers and Oneals. The hostility on the part of the American Labor Movement toward the American intellectuals is puzzling and beyond comprehension because of both the difference in the character of the American intellectual and the different social conditions prevailing in the United States.

### Know Workers' Problems

The American intellectual radical is but rarely a descendant of a different class and social strata and the class differentiation is not as distinct in the United States as in the European lands. Rarely is the present American intellectual a person who has stooped down from his upper class traditions to align himself with the workers because of a burning zeal or a theoretical philosophy. Usually he is not only one whose parents were wage earners or small professional people, but frequently one who himself has known a good many years of toil and struggle. Frequently he is a man who, by sheer ability and persistence, managed to work through college or university and whose radical or revolutionary tendencies come not only as a result of his own struggles and appreciation of the workers' problems, but whose convictions have been strengthened by the study and thought he has given them. The American intellectual who is seeking a place under labor's

sun is no longer the theoretical or reformist type. I know of innumerable intellectuals in America who have known more years of actual toil and hard work than many of our most eminent labor leaders. They are not reformers or theoreticians, but are steeped in the knowledge of the actual problems of the workers.

If I know the present day typical intellectual in America, whose place is in the Labor Movement, and who would have been happy there, he or she is usually the son or daughter of a wage earning father or mother. Through study and special aptitudes he has become an expert in a particular phase of human endeavor. But because of the knowledge and consciousness of the evils of capitalism and the injustice meted out to the working masses, he does not sleep easily on the

hair-mattress which he has been able to obtain on a salary of \$5,000 or \$10,000 a year while engaged in doing something he hates under the grind of American capitalism. He no longer wants to lead the workers into new utopias. He is not even looking for power. He is merely anxious to devote his talents and ambitions for the benefit of the workers or for society as a whole.

Furthermore, since the American Labor Movement is the first to repudiate the class struggle and class distinction in America, and points with pride to the comparatively easy emergence of the American workers or labor leaders from one class to another, its fear of and hostility to the American intellectuals seem beyond all comprehension. It is based on the theory of class conflict and is a complete repudi-

### NO HELP WANTED



Drown for Labor Age by J. F. Anderson.

"You'se guys ain't hep to de union game."

ation of the doctrines dear to the American labor leadership.

However, the persistent distrust of the intellectual is more than a problem for the psychologist. It is fraught with the greatest danger. For since the War, the problems of labor have become so bewildering as to preclude any progress without the help of these intellectuals. That such is the case, unfortunately, the recent history of the Labor Movement only too well testifies. As the problems of American industry are growing more complex, this new type of American intellectual is as vital to the Labor Movement as the very blood to our body. Without him the Labor Movement is bound to shrivel up. No man without this new technical training, and with only a knowledge of industry dating back several decades to his own experience in the shop or mine, can possibly cope with these growing problems.

### A Disastrous Policy

Even our social and political problems today have become largely technical. To continue to deny admission to the technician and the expert in the Labor Movement today is to assure disaster. How much does the average person know of the meaning of "farm debentures," discussed for nearly two years in our Congress? How much does the average labor leader know what it all means? What are the real facts in the tariff issue? What is the present development, control and power of the public utilities? Of the banks? Of the foreign investors? What is their meaning? What is our status in South America? Whither is our industrial and machine development drifting? Whither does increased production lead? Installment buying? What is the actual result of our educational system? What is the effect of welfare capitalism? What is the meaning of the present control of Government by big business? What does the spread of private foundations signify? What do our charity workers actually do and what is their meaning? What solution have we for any of these and a thousand similar fundamental problems? If the Labor Movement is not to seek to understand them, to know them, and to attempt to solve them, who is going to do it? And who, more than the working class, is going to pay the price for not knowing the answers to these questions? Is it conceivable that the man whose sole training has been in a shop or mine or counting office, even if he is the most capable person, will by himself be able to fathom these problems without the aid

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of the technically trained person, especially the person who is socially alive to these issues and whose heart and soul is wrapped in the ideal of a better mankind rather than the amassing of a fortune?

Although no Labor Movement abroad had as great a need of the technically trained person as does the American Labor Movement, the intellectual has nowhere had to face such insurmountable difficulties in joining forces with labor. He has systematically been excluded from the American Labor Movement. Yet even in this country, a long list of achievements in labor's progress can be credited directly to the intellectuals who while not permitted to work directly with labor, have worked along its fringes and participated actively in labor's struggles. The group in the Labor Bureau, Inc., an excellent example of the intellectuals I refer to, has pulled more than one labor union chestnut out of the fire. The few technically trained persons who have been admitted into the offices of the American Federation of Labor and in some of the international

unions, have already sufficiently demonstrated their value to the American Labor Movement. The Brookwood group has made an indelible contribution to whatever little thought and fighting spirit there still exists in the American Labor Movement. And it is not unlikely that even with all the incompetency and sluggishness with which it is characterized, even the Workers Education Bureau has proved of some use to the Labor Movement.

As the problems with which labor is faced are multiplying and constantly growing more technical, American labor must embrace the so-called American intellectual or perish. The Italian workers' explanation in a Novelli play, that the reason for appointing a few intellectuals on a strikers' committee was because, "We need a man with some intelligence or else we are likely to be humbugged," certainly holds true in this land of the greatest humbug. Labor has been humbugged enough and it is time for intelligent thinking. Even more than the intellectual needs labor, the American Labor Movement needs the intellectual.



# Cut The Racket

By DAVID J. SAPOSS

**L**IKE all social institutions the Labor Movement is based upon morale, and when that is destroyed it loses its effectiveness and vitality. Of all dangerous tendencies sapping at the foundations of Labor, corrupting its social philosophy and idealistic purposes, the most sinister is the inroads which racketeering has made into various labor organizations. Judged by the standards of dollars and cents the racketeers in the Labor Movement are mere pikers compared to their brothers in other walks of life. While some labor racketeers have become wealthy the total amount of graft involved in labor racketeering is insignificant when we are told that some forms of racketeering run into the millions of dollars.

## Turning on the Limelight

However, when judged by the moral effect upon labor and upon the social outlook of the workers and their sympathizers and allies, labor racketeering is the more pernicious and is fraught with more serious consequences. Exposing the labor racketeers, therefore, is not an attack on the Labor Movement but, on the contrary, is of distinct service to it and to humanity at large. This article is motivated by a desire to help cleanse the Labor Movement of those parasitic elements that are today working towards its ruin.

Indicting the racketeers does not mean to indicate that the Movement is totally bereft of idealism and sincerity. But we cannot and dare not blind ourselves to the fact that no other workers' movement of the world is so plagued with racketeers as ours. Throughout the history of American labor there have been leaders who have sacrificed themselves for the cause. These heroes and heroines who surrendered all pleasures and comforts in order to serve Labor stand out as a sustaining inspiration. There are many such unselfish souls giving unstintingly of themselves today for the advancement of labor's aims. It is in justice to the loyal leaders and the Movement itself that the limelight should be turned upon the grafters and betrayers who would use the good work built upon so many sacrifices for personal ends.

If the writer were not convinced that the Labor Movement has rendered

invaluable service to the working class and to society and is the chief instrument for attaining social justice he would not waste his time discussing it even, to say nothing of criticizing it. It is for the purpose of directing the white light of exposure upon the ulcer that is undermining the strength and social significance of organized labor that this effort is undertaken with the hope that it may aid in divorcing the Movement from its racketeering leeches.

## Fraudulent Elections

Every one is familiar with the common garden variety of racketeering in the Labor Movement. This glaring seamy side of organized labor is known even to the uninitiated. The graft and strong arm methods that persist in sections of the building trades, similar to that conducted under the guidance of such labor leaders as Sam Parks, Skinney Madden, and more recently Brindell, have been fully aired. The use of gangsters and the collusion with employers in order to drive out competitors and to hold up the consumer have also received the proper publicity. Perhaps less is generally known of the dishonest elections and the shameless rifling of union treasuries. Within the Movement it is common knowledge that in certain unions elections are a sham and a fraud. Under the leadership of John L. Lewis, the United Mine Workers, on the pretense of economy and retrenchment, have even failed to publish the last election returns as required by the mine workers' constitution.

Expense accounts, or "swindle sheets," as they are jocularly referred to, are gallantly padded. Many labor leaders, although married, charge their organization with expenses covering 365 days in the year, excepting leap year. Possibly this is additional evidence of the disintegration of the American family. At any rate, the expense accounts of these labor leaders approximate their salaries, usually quite adequate in themselves. There is even the case of the labor leader who is sufficiently impressionistic to have fallen prey to that enticing slogan, "Wire, Don't write," a slogan so fas-

cinatingly flaunted by the Western Union Telegraph Company. In this instance, while practicing this laudable efficiency principle, the union official found it easy to run up telegraph bills equalling his stupendous salary. The rake-offs that certain labor leaders get in spending union monies are well known and space prevents specific mention of them.

This consideration of the every day variety of racketeering may be appropriately closed by describing how the cloak of respectability has been torn even from ranking labor leaders who have been and are esteemed and honored by the press, pulpit, employers and public officials as the embodiment of virtue and patriotism. While it may be unkind and perhaps unsympathetic to speak ill of the dead, examples should be cited even though they may involve the reputations of those who no longer can do wrong, because the subject transcends the character of any one individual. It deals with an institution that threatens the very existence of the Labor Movement and if not eradicated will bring it to final disrepute and ruin. The late Warren S. Stone of the Locomotive Engineers, the former darling of Wall Street and the Messiah who was permanently to coalesce capital and labor, was proved subsequently to be a man of easy economic virtue and a rather incompetent business man to boot. The same may be said about many of his distinguished former colleagues and present survivors. Another example is George Berry, President of the Printing Pressmen's Union, arch patriot and liaison high muckey-muck between the American Federation of Labor and the American Legion. Some years ago he was exposed to the satisfaction of the courts as having misappropriated union funds for the promotion of personal business ventures. So far as it is known, the local union that was responsible for the law suit seems to have been cowed into not pressing the matter.

## Lack of Moral Stamina

Of course, it is to be expected that every movement, whether social or organized for personal gain, will have its black sheep, occasionally occupying even the highest positions of trust. However, it would seem that the La-

## VULTURES



Like birds of prey racketeers have entered on the labor scene, carrying on the great American pastime of "getting something for nothing."

bor Movement has its disproportionate share of such stamp. Certainly is this true in comparison with the Labor Movements of other countries. Yet the fact that now and again individuals will be discovered who use their high positions for personal gain is not the most serious aspect of the situation. What deserves attention and unmitigated condemnation is that the Labor Movement complacently shuts its eyes to this menace, as it does to many others, and makes no effort to abolish those vicious practices that have such an overwhelmingly demoralizing effect. So common has this form of racketeering become that accused labor leaders have brazenly acknowledged the charges and defiantly continued the even tenor of their ways with impunity. When Father McGowan, one of the staunchest friends of organized labor in general and of the highest A. F. of L. officials in particular, called upon that body at the New Orleans Convention in 1928 to cleanse itself of the racketeers, the delegates and officers only shuddered but neither denied nor affirmed his challenge. Worse still,

Father McGowan's appeal was as rapidly forgotten as the call some years earlier to rid the Movement of labor spies. Perhaps these charges hit too closely home. At any rate, these incidents not only reveal the constitutional weakness of the American Federation of Labor but what is more serious they manifest its lack of moral stamina.

Of greater harm to the Labor Movement are the more fundamental and subtler forms of labor racketeering that violate the basic ethical professions and principles of even conservative unionism. As a result, many of the important union activities have become rackets. A flagrant form of racketeering is the custom of issuing annuals and souvenir books on a variety of occasions or on no special occasion at all. These are used as a means of mulcting business and professional men, and politicians. Not infrequently the inducement offered is that this is a way of counteracting revolutionary ideas. It is also known that this form of advertising has chiefly a negative value in that it buys off some labor leaders from making trouble. The

money raised in this form rarely reaches the union treasury.

The labor press, as well, is a beneficiary of this form of racketeering holding up politicians, business and professional men for advertisements and donations. This is particularly true of local labor papers owned by individuals but which are permitted to pose as official organs. Not only do these labor papers deliver the goods by subtly deadening the spirit of labor but they have been known openly to betray the Movement at crucial moments. The outstanding case is that of the official organ of the Pittsburgh Central Labor Union denouncing the steel strike on the very week it was declared. Naturally, a labor press that lives on the favors of the anti-labor elements will serve them openly or secretly.

### The Advertising Racket

A more respectable racket is the practice of official union organs to solicit advertisements from the most notorious anti-union firms whose commodities are rarely bought by union readers. Even such a bona fide organ as the *AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST* is clotted with these advertisements. It not infrequently happens that labor papers will be running advertisements of labor baiting firms against whom either their own or other unions are conducting a bitterly contested strike. The question has often been raised why these firms advertise since the buying public catered to either does not read the publications or does not pay attention to the advertisements. The prevailing opinion is that these firms insert advertisements in order to profit in some tangible or intangible form. These firms, in other words, buy the good will of labor union officials.

The racketeering poison in the Labor Movement, in addition, directly perverts the fundamental trade union principles. The American unions, with a few notable exceptions, operate on the fringe of industry. The tendency is becoming ever greater for unions to sacrifice the interests of the masses of workers over whom they claim jurisdiction by becoming monopolistic and special privileged groups. This is achieved in several ways. One of them is to charge extortionate initiation fees, or to close the membership books to newcomers completely. The most common method, however, is to pick out a most tiny sector of the jurisdiction, usually that covered by the smaller employer who can least resist, and ignore the remainder. And although

doing nothing to organize the neglected workers outside the small area the unions will resort to any means and use up much effort and money to prevent any one else from organizing them. The Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers is an example. The union claims jurisdiction over practically all workers in the industry but it has been content with a small membership in tiny independent steel mills. Even when holding on to this minute niche the union has sacrificed the great majority of the workers by generally agreeing with the employers to organize only the skilled workers. During the great 1918-19 organizing campaign and strike in the steel industry, the Amalgamated Association, although standing to gain most, was least co-operative. Some of its officials secretly sabotaged the campaign and strike.

An equally serious abuse of the union principle and trust is chargeable to most of the unions who rely chiefly on the union label. Fundamentally, the value of the label is based on the good will of the entire Labor Movement. Yet the unions receiving the most benefit from the label have become the most inert and parasitic organizations. They have learned that there is a limit to the demand for union label products. They have also learned that it is comparatively easy to sell the label to small manufacturers who do not have the resources to develop their own markets. Hence, instead of carrying on militant organizing campaigns the organizers of these unions become salesmen. They sell the label to employers who in turn require their workers to join the union. In order to keep the union label market from becoming flooded and prevent the loss of the label's value, these unions limit the number of manufacturers to whom the label is granted. The workers over whom the label unions nominally claim jurisdiction but are excluded because of the above limitations remain unorganized. Through this procedure most of the unions relying on the union label are selfishly aggrandizing the good will of the Labor Movement in the interest of special privileged and parasitic little groups of workers.

## Two Viewpoints

In the light of the higher aspirations and objectives of the International Labor Movement, with its belief in the historic mission of attaining social justice through a new social order, the American Labor Movement is indeed betraying the cause. To the

radicals the Labor Movement is a faith. In their eyes those who align themselves with the Movement are dedicating their lives to a task of self-sacrifice and devotion as inspired believers and leaders. To the conservatives, on the other hand, the Labor Movement is just a concentration of persons and organizations for the furtherance of the material aims of isolated individuals. Hence it is not regarded as a betrayal of the aspirations of labor when its leaders endorse politicians who have openly shown themselves hostile even to the ordinary social reform demands, as though organized labor has no interest in the general social welfare. But many labor leaders have even gone further. They have supported politicians commonly known to be hostile even to the narrow demands of the conservative unions. The disgraceful scramble of the leaders in the last Pennsylvania primary to support Grundy and other avowed enemies of labor is still fresh in the minds of all. A few years ago in Illinois the outstanding leaders supported a successful candidate for the U. S. Senate who was subsequently denied his seat and who was also shown to have received his chief support from the Insull power interests.

The open alliance of the municipal Labor Movements and the corrupt political machine in the large urban centers needs no elaboration. The situation is not much better in state and national affairs where labor leaders unblushingly support the most reactionary political machines. Similarly, the alliance of union officials with the most reactionary and chauvinistic forces, as the National Civic Federation, is but another instance of the refusal to understand labor's historic role in capitalistic society.

The ease with which labor leaders abandon the Movement is the most conclusive evidence of the demoralized situation in the labor world. The recent history of labor reveals a long procession of leaders, high and low, who, after having been selected by their fellow workers because of their devotion to the cause of Labor, have lightly abandoned it for lucrative positions with employers, or for business careers, as the changing from serving Labor to other pursuits is merely a shifting of jobs rather than a discarding of fundamental principles based upon the deepest convictions. And the sad part of it is that the Labor Movement continues to esteem and even honor such renegades, and not infrequently they continue to exercise influence in the affairs of the Movement.

Frank Farrington's case in Illinois is not an isolated one.

The explanation of this tragic situation has already been partly revealed in this article. Since American business and professional life is permeated with the racketeering spirit it is taken for granted that the Labor Movement, as a cross section of American civilization and culture, finds it difficult to avoid being tainted. To be sure, it is expected that there will be weak sisters and even weak links, but that does not explain why the entire movement has become tainted. This is to be attributed to the perverted desire of the American leadership, since the American Federation became the dominant organization, to lose themselves within the capitalist culture. In this respect it is the only dominant labor organization of any country that idealistically attempts to fit itself perfectly into the capitalist system.

## How to Develop Labor Loyalty

In other countries the dominant Labor Movements, although working within the system in order to ameliorate conditions for the workers, have consistently resisted becoming a hand maiden of capitalism by surrendering culturally. Instead those Labor Movements have concerned themselves with the creation of a counter labor culture so as to offset the engulfing encroachments of capitalist culture. For this purpose they have developed a rounded out Labor Movement so that the immediate and ultimate aspirations of organized labor could be propagated in connection with all important human activities. They have organized themselves into separate political parties, unions, cooperatives, fraternal societies, educational, dramatic and sport groups, and other auxiliaries such as an effective labor press. Through these culture carriers the Labor Movements of other countries have imbued the workers with a labor loyalty that is incorruptible.

The American Federation of Labor, on the other hand, generally has contented itself with merely organizing unions that operate on business principles only while accepting the present business system as permanent. This has had a two-fold effect. It has left the workers a prey of all capitalist propaganda, and not having a guiding ultimate ideal, it has permitted the Movement to degenerate into a purely business venture with all its attendant evils. Only the sincere effort to build a rounded out Labor Movement based on a labor culture will save the American Labor Movement from the racketeering spirit which now possesses it.





New York Times

# "The Old and The New"

## *A Comparison of Russian and American Agriculture — By JUSTUS EBERT*

**T**HE other night we went to see Eisenstein's, "The Old and New." It is a wonderful movie. In a rapid succession of superb photographs it projects the time coming when Russian agriculture shall be transformed from a system of primitive peasantry into one of up-to-date mechanized large co-operative farming. "Propaganda for the five-year plan," some call it. But it impressed us as real art, great, thrilling art, picturing the concrete aspirations of a profound revolution in a climax of construction, just as another Eisenstein cinema masterpiece, "Potemkin," portrays its earlier beginnings in an outburst of destruction.

We left the movie palace in a reflective mood. This "five year plan," with its separators, harvesters and tractors, its immense steppes, how familiar it all looked, more American than Russian! We'd seen all of this before, not in anticipation, imaginative photography but in actual everyday life; not omitting the immense steel works from which came the separators, harvesters and tractors—the inevitable agents of revolutionary constructiveness—in Russia!

We'd seen them all on the American prairies and in steel and iron centers like Pittsburgh, Youngstown and South Chicago. In fact, the Russian "new" was, in great part, the American "old"—a transplanted, readapted, superimposed American technique, if

not economy—a "new" and an "old" in another sense than that contrasted so superbly by the genius of Eisenstein.

\* \* \*

Our reflections continued. To us it seemed that America has also got its "five year plan"—if not contemporaneous with the Russian revolution then somewhat in advance of it. That is, America, too, is on the high road to a new social order with essentially the same basic economic features as those planned for Russia. Here, too, we have a new agriculture, in which the individualist primitive American farm and farmer are being driven out by technology and collective farming, under corporate forms and with State aid. Here, too, millions of individual workers are formed into vast, interdependent armies of industrial wage workers, both under state and private capital auspices. Here, too, political forms of government tend to be either suspended or supplemented by economic government—the dictatorship of the supercorporations and mergers instead of the proletariat. Here, too, we have state capitalism with more than 2,000,000 employees. Here, too, is America, because of its

world position, developing more intensive domestic forms of life, especially militaristic and imperialistic ones. In brief, America, under stress of competition, invention and present day conditions generally, is today laying the foundations for a more thorough socialization of production and distribution than is possible even in Russia, with its comparatively backward development and external dependency, especially on the United States of America.

These were surely some unusual thoughts for a native American leaving a Broadway movie showhouse. But, under Russian influence, American thought is bound to take ever more unusual turns. This will be the case especially when the new Russia more deeply affects American capitalism via world-competition. Then will American capitalism receive an impetus that will make it bigger and more social in character in every way.

\* \* \*

In order that we may not appear to be reflecting wholly under the stimuli of Eisenstein's great picture, let us furnish a few salient facts from contemporaneous literature, especially as

regards the agricultural revolution now going on in this country.

Recent writers on "Hard Times Among the Farmers" in THE NEW REPUBLIC give some interesting facts and figures on the American farm revolution. According to them, there has been a decrease of approximately 5,000,000 in agricultural population in the last twenty years. They show also that though farmers are fewer and acreage smaller in the aggregate, output increased 16 per cent in the four years from 1919 to 1922 inclusive. Technical progress has been a great factor in this development. "Technical progress does farmers as well as wage earners out of jobs." The substitution of engine power for work animals is another great factor. Still another factor is scientific farming. "Fewer farmers, using less land, produced and enlarged output by substituting engine power for work animals and by raising better field crops and livestock." These factors will undoubtedly continue this development in the future, with possibly a little more acceleration than in the past.

This belief is supported by other agricultural tendencies. The first deals with "small farms and difficult lands." Forty per cent of the country's farm population live on them, at a very low standard, according to the Department of Agriculture. "They are not really a part of our farming system, because the land they till is generally incapable of being farmed economically, and the commercial surplus they produce is practically negligible." Most likely large scale farming will eliminate them just as large scale distribution is eliminating the small retailers who are practically in the same class of economic non-entities. And just as their Russian counterparts are being eliminated in Eisenstein's "Old and New."

The second is the driving of more of the other farmers from the farms. "Large farms, specialized production and increased use of power machinery are held to be steadily reducing the number of necessary farmers. Those who believe we still have too many farmers are convinced that technical progress on the farm will supersede labor faster than any probable increase in the demand for farm products will create a need for it."

As already indicated in the foregoing the NEW REPUBLIC agricultural writers see the advent of the corporation farm, with a large central organization, dividing the farm territory according to usefulness and productivity and co-ordinating local units under expert management and supervision.

Already is such a trend well under way in the chain farm system, in which, under banking auspices and Rockefeller capital, individual owners continue as parts of a plan conducted under centralized control. This tendency is also to be observed in the consolidation of many small farms into big corporate holdings. The latter wipe out many small farm homesteads, with their separate dwellings and barns, uniting all of the acreage in a large single farm, just as the collective farms in Eisenstein's picture wipe out the small Russian peasants; substituting in their stead the farms and technique of modern industry. On these big corporation farms, up-to-date machinery is installed and employees are hired and fired as required.

Special articles in the NEW YORK TIMES reflect the tendency to big corporation farming in Kansas. And reports from the State of Washington to the same newspaper show census summaries reflecting this same tendency in the decided loss of population in agricultural towns located in regions where corporation farming has been most effectively introduced. There is no doubt that, with the necessity for banking and insurance companies to safeguard their mortgage interests and with modern corporation surpluses demanding investment outlets, big corporation farming is only beginning a speedy race to complete fruition.

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These agricultural changes now going on suggest an entirely new orientation in our rural life, not only affecting the farmers but the urban centers dependent upon farmers' patronage. A writer in the NEW YORK TIMES paints a picture of the future of the small town that must be disconcerting to those who today find their livelihood in cities of 10,000 or smaller. What is going to be the future of these communities, he asks?

The tendency toward mass production in agriculture, the writer points out, is not only a problem for the small town farmer but the far-seeing see land values seriously affected. The farming corporations which operate 20,000 to 50,000 acres tear down all the improvements on the land in order to reduce taxes. And wherever a big operator comes in and substitutes gasoline for man-power he not only throws small-tract farmers out of work but reduces the number of men and women who trade at the stores. Throughout the wheat-growing states many prosperous communities are sustained by nothing else but the patronage of the farmers. Mass production with the introduction of the ma-

chine and the consequent loss of man power threatens to destroy hundreds of these towns.

The menace is so real in Kansas, because the loss in population has become so acute, the next Legislature will have to wrestle with a number of bills outlawing corporation farming. The State Labor Commissioner of Oklahoma estimates that 100,000 men have been thrown out of work this year as a result of big farm operations.

The suggestion of the Federal Farm Board to cut down wheat acreage therefore comes as a grim joke. Farmers and those who order their lives around the farming industry can see nothing but greater catastrophe in such a remedy.

It was only a few years ago that all this was thought impossible. We were then assured that agricultural capital was not possible of concentration and therefore of socialization. We were then triumphantly told that this was the insurmountable barrier to any effective scheme of socialism in America. Now, look at the situation. Agricultural capital is going the way of industrial capital and this barrier is being broken down faster in this country than in Russia and in a far better evolutionary rather than an enforced revolutionary fashion. We now talk of agricultural capital, with its wheat pools, large corporation farms, Rockefeller investments, federal farm boards, cooperative marketing, displacement of farmers by machinery, etc., etc., just as we talk of industrial capital, all indicating a transformation in which big business and state subsidies figure, just as in industry. The reason is simple: agriculture, once the embodiment of all industries, is becoming absorbed by the expansion of her own offspring, commerce, manufacture and finance.

When we compare American agricultural development, together with its industrial accompaniments, we wonder, after seeing Eisenstein's "The Old and New," wherein Russia "has anything on us"; and if it isn't likely that this country, already further advanced than Russia, will under the compulsion of its own development, not to mention its world environment, be compelled in the future, to set Russia an even greater pace in socialization?

Yes, Eisenstein's "The Old and New" is a great picture. It is more American than Russian—at least in the thought which it provokes. The process of mechanization of land, eventually leading to socialization, so vigorously publicized and intensely glorified in Russia, is going on right here under our very feet.

# Kids On The March

By KARL LORE



Drawn for Labor Age by J. F. Anderson

AS we enter the door, the face under the big straw brim lifts and a pair of black, snapping eyes flash us a welcome. "I'm fixin' to make me a house," he explains, and turns back with all the seriousness of his fourteen years to his work bench and his hammer and nails. On the other side of the table, two girls are very busily engaged in the manufacture of what is obviously to be toy furniture. Back in the far corner is a smaller carpenter, whacking with great delight and concentration on something, which as yet possesses no identifying characteristics at all.

In the next room some others are playing with water colors and modelling clay. Pictures of tree and flowers run riot over the walls, and clay houses and boats clutter up the shelves. The third and last room is the real art gallery, the children having selected it as their reception room. The windows are framed by curtains that they have cut and sewed and the prize pictures adorn the walls. In these three rooms

the kids work away without interruption from anyone making what they want when they want to. The teacher withdraws very much into the background. On the whole, a very modern educational institution.

The house is not in Philadelphia or New York, nor are the youngsters what one might expect to find in this kind of place. They are the children of textile workers, and the house itself lies on the outskirts of East Marion, North Carolina, the

mill village of the Marion Manufacturing Company.

There was a strike here last winter and the textile workers marched with cheering, singing, picket lines. These boys and girls marched with them. It was not just for the excitement, or for the opportunity it gave to let off steam, either. They all know that at fourteen, or even thirteen and twelve if they looked old enough to fool the inspector when he came around, they would also work their twelve hours in the mill for a pay of \$11 per week, that is, unless the union could help.

That strike is lost, and the picket lines have stopped. But because of it, these future mill workers find themselves, for the first time in their lives perhaps, the objects of an organized attempt to give them a good time.

It is not the boss that's to be thanked for it either. Mr. Baldwin, president of the Marion Company, has not been as clever as some of his fellow manufacturers who have followed strikes with the introduction of welfare work

in their mill communities. The lumber and the paints and the modelling clay come from a labor organization, the Pioneer Youth of America.

The fact that that organization is functioning there, has done more than just give the kids a lot of fun, though. For some time now the union has only had a local representative in the village to liquidate the strike. Now Pioneer Youth is in Marion, and the strikers and the mill people know that the outside world has not forgotten them, that people still remember their fight. It keeps up their faith in the union and in the Labor Movement when they see their children play ball with the teacher from New York or sit down in a field for an earnest discussion of some subject which had been very carefully kept from them in school.

I have discussed Pioneer Youth in Marion at some length because it shows how valuable organized youth can be to the Labor Movement. And how the Labor Movement needs its kids. There have been too many scabs who did not know what it was all about; too many products of our educational system who have been willing to take things for granted; too few who have been given a chance to know and learn Labor's ideas and ideals.

## Millions of Young Workers

The census of 1920 reported 2,774,000 children from ten to seventeen years of age gainfully employed in the United States. Of these, 1,061,000 were under sixteen years of age. In addition, there were 20,000,000 out of industry between the ages of five and fourteen, all, according to circumstances, potential wage earners, strike breakers, or unionists. It would be interesting to know what did happen to them. How many of them heard the call of the movement and responded? How many were made to realize their destiny and that of mankind and joined in the fight for a better scheme of things? It is impossible, of course, to give an answer. But a look at the unions today, ten years after that census, should give some indications. There are few young delegates in labor bodies. In some trades employing many

young people, very few of them are in the union. It may not be the fault of the unions entirely, of course. Most of these children have been inculcated with an anti-union and anti-labor spirit all their lives. In school and in church, economic facts and problems have been soft pedaled or perverted. The idea that "my Jimmie isn't going to work in a factory," has certainly played its part. The average trade unionist, especially if he is in one of the highly paid craft organizations, wants his son to enter a profession, to be a dentist, doctor or lawyer. In that case, of course, all his contacts and friendships must be formed in a different group from that in which the son of a steel worker can move.

The unions simply have not recognized it as their job to organize the youth on a labor basis. Many of them see organizations like the Boy Scouts as the logical interest of their children. How it is possible for the Boy Scouts, subsidized as they are by the great financial, union breaking interests of the country to give its members the training, and the point of view that is necessary for them to function in the Labor Movement, has not yet been satisfactorily explained.

Proper use of spare time is the final lesson that the Labor Movement should teach the child within its ranks. Leisure in itself is not the end of all problems. Leisure with only the movies, the Nick Carter thriller or the True Story Magazine to turn to, does not take a young fellow far along the road that the Movement needs so very much to have traveled. They have got to be taken out into the woods away from the cities and taught what the outdoors holds. The riches of the world of books must be displayed for them. They have a right to be allowed to use their own spare hours in creating things with or without sense or utility as it gives them a creative joy. None of this will our ordinary municipal education factory give them. They must get it from somewhere if they are to be part of Labor's ranks.

Have we uncovered a problem in the preceding paragraphs? Or isn't there really any? Are we at 12 or 14, children with no interest and no

responsibility in the world we live in? And do we, with the eighteen candles in the birthday cake, automatically become serious minded citizens fully prepared to decide all such ethical points as trade unionism versus open shop or scabbery? There are some who doubt that this works out in such beautiful simplicity. They have set up organizations and proceeded to educate kids for work in the labor movement.

Pioneer Youth was started in 1924 as the result of a series of conferences of labor men and educators. "We propose," they say, "to take the children, not least those of the masses of industrial workers, out into the open; to cultivate alert, critical minds; active and generous sympathies; respect for all honest toil; the passion for justice and brotherhood." They have extended their class work over four

## PURPOSEFUL EDUCATION



Photo by Karl Lore

"It keeps up their faith in the union and in the Labor Movement when they see their children sit down in a field for an earnest discussion of some subject which had been very carefully kept from them in school."

cities. At their summer camp in Rifton, New York there is room for 150 workers' children to spend a summer of sport, discussion and creative effort.

A similar camp has been maintained for the past five years by the Modern Sunday Schools at Lincoln Park, New Jersey. There at camp, in the play and in the work, the children carry on the work of the classes held during the winter months where they discuss their world as they see it.

One experimental group that has grown with vigor in the three years of its life is the Young Circle League, the Young people's section of the Workmen's Circle, Jewish fraternal order. There are at present over 100 sections of the League in existence, the forty New York groups alone boasting a membership of 1,000. Anyone from 12 to 25 is eligible for membership and may participate in the social, educational, athletic, and dramatic activities of the League. It is not a mere social club however, for in addition they "train their members in the lofty ideals of the Workmen's Circle and prepare them for their future duties as adult members of the organization."

The immigrant worker has, of course, brought many of his youth organizations with him. German youth especially has found the American outdoors worthy of attention. The Naturfreunde, an organization with over 1,200 branches throughout the world have ten groups spread from coast to coast through this country and for over twenty years now, have propagandized on the need for a worker's world.

The labor political parties have always seen the organization of the youth as a part of their problem and today both the Socialist and Communist parties have their young peoples branches.

These are some of the attempts that have been made to solve the problem of the youngsters. Their sponsors have done praiseworthy and excellent work. Yet even the wildest enthusiast will not claim that they are on the way to a solution of the problem of the youngsters. Their million kids entering the field of industry certainly cannot be dispelled by the individual efforts of enlightened but comparatively insignificant groups. The powerful youth movement of Germany arose only after the German workers formed a strong political arm to aid in their organization. The kids are on the march to somewhere. We can't laugh off 800,000 American Boy Scouts. It is up to the movement to decide which way they shall go.



# Teachers' Union Backs Social Insurance

(Special Correspondence to LABOR AGE)

Memphis, Tenn.—The first gathering of organized teachers ever to be held in the South took place in Memphis, Tenn., on June 30-July 3 when delegates from the various locals of the American Federation of Teachers came together for the Fourteenth Annual Convention of the organization. The report of the Secretary-Treasurer, Mrs. Florence Curtis Hanson, whose absence on account of illness was deeply regretted, showed a 27 per cent gain in membership for the past year and a 100 per cent gain during the past three or four years when many unions of other industries were losing membership or barely holding their own. This unique accomplishment was considered by all a definite indication of what a progressive and militant union can achieve. The chief membership gains in old locals have been in Chicago and New York, and in new locals in the anthracite district of Pennsylvania and in the South.

Great stress was laid upon organization work in the South throughout the Convention. W. C. Birthright, Secretary of the Tennessee Federation of Labor and a member of the A. F. of L. organization committee in the South, spoke at the opening session and stated boldly, "You will find in Tennessee the best Labor Movement south of the Mason and Dixon line, for the simple reason that we have had here the militant and progressive leadership which a Labor Movement in the South requires."

In a reply to a telegram of greeting from President Green of the American Federation of Labor, the convention said: "Meeting in the Southland, we are especially concerned about the problem of organization in this section of our country. . . . We hope that even in the face of the present severe economic depression, labor's campaign in the South will be vigorously and intelligently prosecuted so that millions of the unskilled and semi-skilled workers in mine, mill and factory may be organized and thus delivered from the poverty and from the virtual economic slavery under which they now suffer." The American Federation of Teachers plans to do its share by maintaining a Southern organizing office next year in Atlanta, Ga.

At this convention, the teachers' or-

ganization also took its place among the forward looking unions in the matter of social insurance. Drafting a comprehensive program for meeting unemployment, including employment exchanges, advanced planning of public works, etc., it congratulated the American Federation of Labor on its stand in favor of old age pensions and instructed its delegates to the coming A. F. of L. Council to formulate com-

## HEADS TEACHERS' UNION



MARY C. BARKER

Re-elected president of the progressive American Federation of Teachers.

prehensive measures for unemployment and other forms of social insurance, "nation wide and democratically administered."

The hottest discussion in the convention came on a resolution introduced by Brookwood Local No. 189, pledging support of the movement to build a Labor Party in the United States. The Policy Committee recommended non-concurrence. The debate was on a high plane. Those favoring adoption of the Policy Committee's report made no effort to defend the existing parties or to deny the need for a new political alignment in this country. A vote registering the individual views of the delegates would have been practically unanimous for a Labor Party. The opposition was

based on doubt as to whether the American Federation of Teachers should take the lead, as to whether the Labor Movement in this country was strong enough to act in the matter, etc. Delegates from Minnesota bore eloquent testimony as to what independent political action had done for the teachers there. In St. Paul, they pointed out, the Commissioner of Education is a labor man. The Policy Committee's report was concurred in by a majority after A. J. Muste had said: "There is just one good argument in favor of the Committee's report, namely, that we ought not to embark on a new course until our delegates and our locals have been thoroughly educated on the issues involved. To this task of education on the need for a new political alignment we must devote ourselves the coming year."

The administration of the Teachers' Union during the coming year remains in the progressive hands which have so ably conducted its activities in recent years. Miss Mary C. Barker of Atlanta, Ga., is President for another term. Mrs. Hanson was unanimously re-elected Secretary-Treasurer. A. J. Muste, Chairman of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, who served as chairman of the important Committee on Resolutions at the Convention, was re-elected Vice President. For the first time in many years Henry R. Linville and Abraham Lefkowitz, leaders of the New York Teachers' Union and National Executive Committee members of the C. P. L. A., were absent from the convention. Nevertheless, as a sign of the esteem in which they are held in the American Federation of Teachers, in spite of their absence they were re-elected as Vice Presidents. The Executive Council includes such well known progressive laborites as W. B. Satterthwaite, leader of the Seattle high school teachers' yellow dog contract fight, E. E. Schwartztrauber of Portland, Ore., Miss Florence Rood of St. Paul, Miss Carlotta Pittman of Memphis, and others.

Numerous matters of vital concern to the development of the public schools were acted upon by the convention, the proceedings of which should be in the hands of all labor men and women serving on education committees in city central bodies and in State Federations.

# Following the Fight

By LOUIS FRANCIS BUDENZ

## THE BIG JOB FOR PROGRESSIVES

WE have appealed, in these pages, for positive action on the part of Progressives, for the achievement of their aims. We wish to reiterate that appeal.

There is youth to be stirred—young students and workers to be enthused into going into industry and staying there. There is the injunction to be defied, and the labor party to be built, out of the more immediate struggle. There is the business of bringing about industrial unionism to be attended to, and the speeding up of more militant strike tactics and more daring.

These things will come out of ACTION by the Progressives and by nothing else. Criticism is of aid, and the C.P.L.A. has stood on the right of criticism in any democratic movement. But criticism is stronger and more effective when backed up by action. Criticism is much more valid when based on positive effort and achievement.

In the past there have been two curses to the Labor Movement. There was the bungling conservative laborite, who learned nothing from experience but caution and nothing from changing industrial conditions but do-nothingism. Then, there was the shrill voiced critic, who sat on the sidelines and hurled attacks upon the heads of those who were in the fray.

For young folks in particular, who are attracted to the Progressive Movement, we wish to refer to these two evils. It is so easy, when the stagnation of the Movement is witnessed, to retire to the sidelines and criticize. It is so comfortable to escape by doing nothing. What we want to see is Progressives—young and old—engaged in doing—in order that their action may be the greatest criticism of conservatism in the Movement. The zest of doing will prevent such criticism as is made from becoming petty whining—an especial danger in self-opinionated young folks.

The C.P.L.A. has set achievement as its goal. During the past year it did excellent work in a number of places. Its voice was heard in the South, and is still there. We want to make that positive job a big one. We wish to make the 16 points of the Progressive program live. We wish to make them the rallying points to fire the workers, and to make things move.

At the present moment, there is above all the fight of unemployment insurance. This is a splendid vehicle for carrying the organization message to the unorganized, and for bringing the whole problem of "Why unemployment?" to the organized. Here is a positive piece of work to be done: conferences to be arranged, resolutions to be introduced in unions, talks to be made at mill gates. There are not enough folks to do the job, as it is. Let us Progressives show by actual doing that the things we stand for can be done.

There is the task of getting into industry and studying the problem of the workers and serving as centers of agitation, at the proper hour. Not enough young people have as yet responded to that call, as encouraging as has been the interest of those who have responded.

We would like to see more young folks doing that, rather

than sitting around with a cynical air expressing their *ennui* at the crudity of the Labor Movement.

Progressives can well set their faces against both do-nothing criticism and do-little caution and conservatism. Both are negative and injurious. We should feel the glory of the big fight—against the capitalists. We should get into that fight—against our enemy.

It is for action along that line that we appeal. The Progressive cause—the achievement of industrial unionism, a labor party and increased militancy—will be pushed forward in the proportion that we do things ourselves.

The C.P.L.A. is ever ready to cooperate in positive efforts along these lines. We want Progressive-minded laborites to talk out loud with us upon the problems in their local communities and industries. We want to weld together a growing army of active folks, doing things in the midst of great obstacles and going forward, relentlessly, toward their goal.

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## REDS! RUSSIA! REVOLUTION!

GILBERT and SULLIVAN should have lived to see this day. The Fishing expedition after the Reds would have furnished charming material for musical pathos. While injunctions press workers down, while the Hooverian tight rope walking act has ended in a mighty tumble, while unemployment stalks abroad in the land with no let-up, a committee of solemn faced Congressmen delve into fiction stories.

Proposals come into them thick and fast. Fill the land with secret police, says Elihu Root. Deport 'em, cries another. Establish an American Siberia or "Devil's Island" for 'em, shouts a third. The Czar did all those things, brothers. And the Czar no longer reigns.

The absurdity of Hamilton Fish overshadows the occasional absurdity of the Communists themselves. If Fish would only pick up the DAILY WORKER, as the C.P.L.A. suggested to him, he could learn everything about the red "menace," about which he is now foaming at the mouth. He would find the disciples of Moscow much divided, and often amusing in their attacks upon non-conformers. He would discover Foster calling Scott Nearing a "Social Fascist," and even such a numbskull as Fish should be able to see the humor in that.

If the Hon. Fish sees Revolution ahead, we would be inclined to agree with him. Quite a bit ahead; so that the Hon. Fish need not worry much about the stability of his own handsome fortune in his day. But that the less than 7,000 Communists are to heave it up, is a matter for a smile rather than for the tortures that the Fish Committee is experiencing. The Revolution in America will come out of the ranks of the American producers, when they become sick and tired of injunctions, unemployment, "Prosperity" and the various forms of hokum on which they have fed to

date. It will come after patience has been exhausted; after Ford layoffs of 20,000 men, just reported by Bob Cruden in the Federated Press, take place over and over again. The Reds could all be on some "Devil's Island" and it would come nevertheless—out of the whirligig of the Machine System linked up with profit making.

The real menace of Russia to the Capitalist Class does not lie in propaganda. It lies in Stalingrad and Austingrad. It lies in the successful operation of a non-profit-making system. If that succeeds, then propaganda will be unnecessary. Russia threatens the capitalists of the world because it promises to undersell them on the world market with no profit system to disturb it. Oddly enough, the Philadelphia PUBLIC LEDGER, of all papers, saw that thing, and suggested it as a thought to the Fish Committee.

The whole show is nauseating. We are regimented to death—with injunctions, "yellow dog" contracts and other evidences of slavery. To add the hoary list of "preventatives" that are being suggested to the Fishing Committee is to put a red flag in the face of any decent workingman, who has a shred of manhood left in him.

If such laws are put upon the statute books, they should be smashed to pieces by defiance. It is high time that a little spunk be shown in the ranks of labor. The hour is here when labor leadership should point the way—not by belching out stupidities to the Fish Committee, but by getting out on the picket lines and tearing the injunction and other legal absurdities to shreds. If they want to head off the Reds, there is the job for them. Up to the hour of sending this to the press, we have not heard of any grand rush to the picket lines, upon the part of conservative labor leadership, to defy the injunction or to smash the "yellow dog" contract.

The Reds lie. They engage in strikebreaking tactics, to advance their sacred cause. But they have the courage to go to jail. When conservative Labor gets that courage, it will be in a much better position to talk about the Communists. We have an over-abundance of "statesmanship" in the Movement, waiting to be made into statues in the Hall of Fame. There is a woeful lack of spirited agitators.

## DEFY INJUNCTIONS

**I**N expressing impatience at the slowness of Labor officially to defy injunctions, we are mindful of the difficulties in the way. Many an organizer and international union official hesitates to take action of that sort for fear that it will involve his organization in debilitating civil suits. The Law is so framed today that the anti-union employer has a host of "remedies," not the least of which is civil action against union funds, or the tying up of union moneys through an accumulation of fines.

There are a number of nightmares of this character bedeviling union leaders in every strike crisis.

Where any such possibility is involved, it should not be a hard matter to get the cooperation of other union leaders than those directly in the fight. It is that thing that must be done more frequently and more dramatically. The injunction can be smashed only by defiance in situation after situation.

There are those who argue that we should wait for legislation on this score. We have waited long enough. The last Congress showed less consideration for injunction

relief than perhaps any other before it. Waiting has accomplished nothing toward removing this incubus from the back of Labor. To win legislation, the public must be aroused as they were in the women suffrage campaigns. Defiance and jail are the means to be used to bring about such an aroused opinion. When injunctions have been shot to pieces in this and that case, legislation against the injunction will follow. It will never come otherwise. The human race is long-suffering. Unless the evils with which it is afflicted and in one instance and locality are shown dramatically to be challenged in other places, it will go on even unto slavery without protest or revolt.

As a distinguished economist wrote us the other day, commenting on the injunction business: "If union officers would refuse to obey injunctions as they refuse to obey the prohibition law, unfair interference with workers' rights by judicial decree would soon be about as effective as the prohibition law is."

We call upon union officials to consider the value of continuous injunction defiance. It will be of small value to do it in one place and at one time, and not to repeat it again and again. The courts must be shown their proper place in the scheme of things. They recognize power above everything else, and moral power can cow them as successfully as financial or physical power. Let us remember how the Supreme Court wilted under the threat of the national railroad strike in the war crisis, and made a double-quick decision in favor of the Adamson Law.

The courts will change their course of action on the injunction when fear of Labor's moral courage and of the public opinion created by it beat them into submission. Not till then.

## ANSWERING FOR TOM MOONEY

**E**XPLoding with adjectives that denote class spleen, California's Supreme Court said "Thumbs Down" to the pleas of Tom Mooney and Warren Billings.

Such was to be expected. Our courts—from the Supreme of them all to New York's Judge Vause, slobbering over himself as he is found guilty of thievery—are the "red light district" of the capitalist interests.

Known perjury on the part of the notorious Oxman and other witnesses made no effect on the California judges. They said, in substance, that Mooney and Billings should be in jail anyway, for their labor activities.

In some way, we all owe a duty to Tom Mooney for his 14 years in San Quentin. Unless he is freed eventually, he cannot answer back to those filthy powers who have imprisoned him. When his fiery spirit tried to express itself to the reporters, he was shut off by the warden.

We, who are free, can answer: By increased attacks upon the courts, by indicating our contempt for them, by doubling our organizing and agitating efforts—in order that the System which sent Mooney to jail may be wiped off the face of the earth. Edward F. McGrady of the A. F. of L. recently told the Hosiery Workers convention that this System was taking a toll of \$22,500,000,000 a year from the workers in dividends and other forms of profits.

It is not enough to weep over Mooney. He would not want that. Doing things that he would have been doing, were he free, is the obligation imposed on us.



# The March of the Machine

By JUSTUS EBERT

THE march of the machine is awakening even some of the judiciary to its existence.

"We are in a revolutionary industrial era," declared Judge Eugene L. Sharpe, in an address to organized meat cutters and butcher workmen at their convention in Detroit.

"During the past thirty years," continued the jurist, "we have seen the gradual substitution of machines for men; the consolidation of industries; the massing of workers, who are subject to changing business."

This industrial era must be decidedly revolutionary when even judges are aware of it. Like the D. A. R. they generally recognize a revolution only after it has come and gone about 160 years.

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The march of the machine continues in agriculture. This time it is cotton culture. Two young engineer-inventors, John D. and Macdonald Rust have started to manufacture their "Wet Spindle Cotton Picker," at the Llano Cooperative Colony, New Llano, La. It will do the work now performed by from 40 to 100 hand pickers. It will be made so low in price as to be easily bought and used by cooperative groups of planters. This machine cotton picker, it is predicted by the Rust brothers, will revolutionize cotton culture and manufacture and displace hundreds of thousands of workers from their jobs in the South and throughout the world. The Negro problem in the South will then become the *unemployed Negro problem*.

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In Montana the shearing machine has laid the Sheep-Shearers Union low. Formerly the men who wielded the long shears were able to dictate terms to the sheep bosses. Now the Wool Growers Association has no opposition. The skill of the hand shearer was acquired only over a term of years, but a machine operator can be broken in in one season. Many were thrown out of work and machine shearers began underbidding the blade men who called their competitors scabs. Thus broke up the Sheep Shearers Union of North America.

According to a Federated Press report from Amarillo, Texas, the harvest stiff of old would feel pretty uncomfortable on Hickman Price's 15,000 acre ranch in the Texas panhandle, where tractors operate 24 hours a day and men work in two shifts of 12 hours each. Price boasts that they eat their lunches on the machines. Ten 60 h.p. caterpillar tractors and combines cut grain costs to \$6 an acre. Price expects to see 200, 500 and even 1,000 h.p. tractors in use, to cut costs further.

Price's operations are couched in the language of the Russian 5-year plan, with farms running up to 7,000 acres. The scene of operations is the "firing line." Foremen report continuously by phone to general headquarters at Amarillo. The tractors have been biting at the soil ever since January.

The ranch king pays his tractor labor \$3.00 a day and 10 cents an hour bonus. To keep them from stealing occasional relaxation, he has meters on each machine.

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Mechanical engineers of the country are responsible in some measure for present unemployment, it was charged at the semi-annual meeting of the American Society of Mechanical Engineers in Detroit by Vice President Ralph E. Flanders.

"There is no doubt that any local employment situation is affected seriously at any time when machines devised by engineers to step up quantity production, at the same time securing finer precision in parts, supplant much of the hand labor previously used . . . but it is not known yet whether in the long run the employment situation is really made better or worse by the extension of the engineering craft," he said. This is quite a retreat from the position where rationalization experts were telling us that "in the long run" everything would be all right.

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The HARTFORD COURANT of Hartford, Conn., is not enthusiastic over automatic machinery, mass production and mergers that have wrought a silent revolution. This daily newspaper is one of the oldest in America and is among the



Locomotive Engineers' Journal

nation's ultra conservative publications.

In a sensational editorial on the social effect of the new system the editor points out that this revolution is bringing a train of evils that include unemployment, destruction of craftsmanship, revolutionary sentiment and all sorts of paternalistic schemes to care for the unemployed.

So much work is being done by the machine that labor finds it difficult to secure employment, says the editor. Mergers in various lines and the spread of chain stores increase the workless.

"Just how these conditions will right themselves nobody seems to know, although various remedies have been suggested. Certain it is that if people can not find work and can not earn enough to support themselves and their dependents, we shall hear more and more of paternalistic schemes to take care of them.

"Does not this situation make it worth while to consider whether we are really on the right economic track?

"May it not come about that we are paying too high a price for our much vaunted efficiency? Is there not, after all, something to be said for the more leisurely process of an earlier day?

"Will we really gain anything if we bring about a situation where industry and society find themselves heavily taxed to support those who are turned out at 40 and 45 because their productive capacity has diminished?"

Too bad, but the HARTFORD COURANT will have to be taught that the remedy lies not in looking backward but in controlling the machine for the welfare of the workers. Meanwhile unemployment insurance must be introduced.

# Flashes from the Labor World

Ben Marsh, emissary of discontent and agitator par excellence, sees silver linings on the dark clouds of Mr. Hoover's industrial depression. Nothing at all can be done to help the farmers under individualism, believes Marsh, secretary of the People's Lobby and former secretary of a progressive farmers' organization at the national capital. Workers need expect no wonder-working, either, under a system devised to furnish aid and comfort to the owners of things.

But Marsh makes the bold prediction that within five years the administration will have appropriated between a half billion and a billion for public works, unemployment insurance and old age pensions, under the pressure of desperate workers and farmers. For the incredulous, it may be well to recall that two years ago Federated Press interviewed Secretary A. Epstein of the Old Age Security Association and found out that within a similar five-year period old age pensions would be common in industrial states. A distinguished labor editor, known for his grasp of American affairs, pooh poohed Epstein in an editorial on the American brand of optimism. But within two short years ten states have made beginnings in such pensions. Who will say that Marsh is a worse prophet?

A collectivized agriculture with farmers working human hours is Marsh's only hope for American agriculture. The harder farmers work now the less they get, he points out, under the beneficent workings of an inscrutable capitalism. As for workers, the industrial managers see to it that they do not have too much work. Marsh sees no solution for their problem under the existing order, but is emphatic in insisting that a redistribution of the national wealth would cushion the rough spots for them.

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Under the impression that any club is good enough to beat a dog with, Matthew Woll has reached into his poke and pulled out another of his ineffable organizations to hit the Soviets. His National Civic Federation having started the belaboring of the Soviet Union's \$125,000,000 trade with this country, Woll now produces the Wage Earners Protective Conference, an outfit which he seems to carry in his pocket. The conference, consisting of a former lobbyist for the notorious Home Market open shop group in Massachusetts and an office some-

where in Washington, is described by Major Berry of the Printing Pressmen, none too ardent a champion of the Soviet Union, as "unknown to labor men." The conference's latest stunt is to demand an embargo on all Soviet products coming to this country. Oddly enough, while this little man presumes to speak for millions of American workers through his semi-racketeering conference whose financing would be most enlightening, it is left to the N. Y.

Lewis, intent on keeping his financial stronghold in the anthracite, has concluded a deal with the hard coal operators by which he fastens the checkoff on the diggers of northeast Pennsylvania in return for big concessions to the employers. This queer bargain, by which the miners gain zero and the operators many of their demands, was up for sharp criticism at the ratifying convention of the three union districts in the anthracite. But against scattered leadership,

## CALIFORNIA'S SHAME



Chicago Federation News

Only in a land with a supine Labor Movement can such a miscarriage of justice take place.

Journal of Commerce to demand an end to this nonsense. American workers finding employment on the \$100,000,000 exports to the Soviet Union will hardly thank Woll for trying to kill their jobs.

\* \* \*

The Reorganized United Mine Workers, with headquarters in Springfield, seem to have won their fight against John L. Lewis of the Indianapolis U. M. W. for control of Illinois. Their objection that Lewis was violating an injunction barring him from interfering in Illinois union affairs has been sustained in court and Lewis ordered to disband his "provisional" district administration. Latest Springfield figures give the reorganized union 40,000 Illinois miners to 7,000 for Lewis. The Springfield union claims 20,000 more throughout the country, and concedes 30,000 more to Lewis in the soft coal fields.

no matter how vocal and emphatic, the smooth-running Lewis machine was expected to win another Pyrrhic victory.

This notorious deal means that each miner in the anthracite will have to check off \$1 a month, 25c. of which will go to Lewis to maintain his expensive District Seven Come Eleven in Indianapolis. As Springfield claims that Lewis has only 40,000 dues-paying members out of 150,000 anthracite miners, it can be seen that he has won a financial triumph of no mean size. And the miners? Well, they are fastened to a 5½-year contract, with the threat that the operators may reopen the wage scale any year to force a reduction. Wages are already below \$1,700 a year for the majority of anthracite workers, according to Lewis' own figures.

\* \* \*

Premonitory of future struggles in the auto industry was the strike of General

Motors workers at Flint. At one time more than 5,000 were out. Police, with customary Michigan brutality, brazenly overrode all strikers' civil rights, imprisoned the leaders and broke up meetings. The radical Auto Workers Union claims a membership of 2,000 in Flint as the result of the strike. Flint Federation of Labor officials, who settled the strike, tried to organize a federal labor union with the eventual promise that the workers would be split up into their respective "crafts," but the idea did not catch.

\* \* \*

Two colorful figures in the Labor Movement, Tim Healy and James Lynch, died within recent weeks. Both were thoroughly typical American labor leaders, although their views diverged widely. Healy, orthodox in politics, had his eyes opened to the implications of world imperialism when the Irish rebellion stirred his nationalism. Wide contacts with European labor men, made as one who had started his working life on cattle boats and continued through attendance at world labor congresses, gave him the broad international understanding denied most American labor leaders. His friendship for the Soviet Union earned him the denunciation of the official hierarchy which, nevertheless, bent a hypocritical knee by his grave, and lost him the presidency of the Stationery Firemen and Oilers Union. Lynch was a thoroughly conservative leader who late in life seemed to become more favorable to ideas spurned by Matthew Woll and others as socialistic. He became a staunch advocate of old age pensions and later viewed the labor party with a not too scandalized eye.

\* \* \*

Tom Mooney has been big labor news for the past month. First there was the California supreme court's astounding dictum that if Warren K. Billings wasn't guilty of throwing the bomb in the San Francisco preparedness day explosion, he associated with radicals which it seems is very bad for a man socially in the Golden State. Therefore, he must be kept in jail for life. Whereupon Gov. Young seized the chance to damn Mooney for life, presumably also because of his bad social connections. Of course, said the governor, if a certain McDonald, missing eight years, could be discovered his testimony might be relevant. Who could have been more shocked than the governor when McDonald arose from a living grave to repeat his statement that his testimony which convicted Mooney and Billings had been perjured at the behest of the unspeakable Fickert? Followed embarrassed

maneuvering when confronted with McDonald—but the same old story of California justice.

\* \* \*

Art Shields tells why Mooney is in jail. He was too energetic in organizing street car men of the Pacific Gas & Electric Co. "Tom's organization literature was two-fisted stuff," writes Shields. "It vividly recalls the inhuman conditions of the street carmen, whose day's work seemed never done:

"Have you lost your manhood?" asked the young organizer. "Are you asleep or are you walking dead men? How do you like to take other working men to work in the morning, bring them back at night and take them down town for their pleasure for the evening, while you slave for the pittance you get from that labor union crushing company, the U. R. R.?"

Extra men got 25 cents an hour. The highest paid men received barely more than common laborers.

More about the long workday: Tom describes what he calls "a real good run, 55 that left the barn at 5 a. m. and finished the next morning at 1 a. m. And all this, he explained, "so you can pay dear Jesse Lillenthal the paltry salary of \$36,000 a year."

How the corporations hated Mooney! I have before me a letter that Pres. Lillenthal sent to each of his 3,000 employees about Mooney. He cracks the whip of discharge, as follows:

"It is needless to advise you that the Company is thoroughly familiar with his every move and takes this occasion to notify you that any man found to be affiliated with Mooney or any union will be promptly discharged." Next month Mooney and Billings were framed.

\* \* \*

Things are moving in the south again. Danville is in status quo with the union cautious in overt moves because of the industrial depression that hangs heavily over southern mills. Union ranks are holding firm despite the difficulty of action. In Greensboro, N. C., strides are being made in organizing serfs of Bernard Cone, the touted liberal mill owner who gives away hams at Christmas and builds churches for his employees. Cone has vindicated his reputation by firing 37 active unionists and pitching their household goods out of shacks in his mill Eden.

\* \* \*

The nearest to a general strike that we have seen in this country for years occurred a few weeks ago in Butte when union auto mechanics were locked out, union teamsters struck against wage cuts and employers retaliated by closing

up nearly every store in Butte, throwing union retail clerks out of work. The Labor Movement responded with financial help in support of their fellow workers but a compromise was finally forced over that entailed substantial losses to the unionists, although not so bad as first threatened by the employers association. Wide unemployment among copper miners, the basic workers in Butte, weakened the union side.

\* \* \*

Canadian unions have a good report for 1929, according to the Dominion labor department, with 19,000 more members gained. While the rise is not sensational, it is far ahead of the real unpadded figures for the great republic to the south where union membership has been drooping under punchless leadership. The A. F. of L. reported 13,000 gain in Canada, the One Big Union 3,000 and the All-Canadian Congress of Labor 1,400. The All-Canadian has its bulwark in the Canadian Brotherhood of Railroad Employees, an industrial union which meets powerful opposition from the American railroad crafts.

\* \* \*

Labor capitalism ended unhappily for the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks when their bank was caught by the bankers of Cincinnati in a death grip and crushed into receivership. The Brotherhood charges that the bank was deliberately denied help from the clearing house and that it was solvent when the rush started on all Cincinnati banks in a general financial panic. Money was rushed to all save the Brotherhood bank, which was told it could get no help from the clearing house but should turn to the labor unions. Never again, says the Brotherhood, joining with the Locomotive Engineers to abjure all get rich quick schemes.

\* \* \*

The Niagara Falls Central Labor Council is asking all the labor unions and central bodies in New York State what they think about a labor party. They are asked to send delegates to a conference to meet probably in August when the State Federation convenes in Buffalo.

\* \* \*

Another union organization to speak up for the labor party idea is the Montana Federation of Labor, in convention, which instructed its officers to negotiate with the Farmers Union to form a definite political alliance against the corrupt Republican and inept Democratic regimes. Montana politics, says the Federation, is run by the Anaconda Copper Mining Co. and the Montana Power Co., which holds both parties in their grip.

HARVEY O'CONNOR

# Summer Brings New Opportunities To C. P. L. A.

**I**N the good old summer time plutocrats play and workers still study. Unbelievable as the latter part of this statement may seem, especially in the light of the lack of any sign of life from the Workers Education Bureau, nevertheless thousands of girls, combining pleasure and learning, gather in various sections throughout the country for healthful recreation and concentrated attention to their industrial problems. The industrial departments of the Young Women's Christian Association and the many summer schools for women in industry believe in no let up in the process of enlightenment, thereby stealing a march on the men who may some day find themselves outranked intellectually and economically if they permit their "manly" superiority to take the place of effective understanding.

Thus workers education goes on, even though unofficially from the standpoint of the Labor Movement and with a scowl, perhaps, from those who sit in the seats of the mighty. In all this activity the Conference for Progressive Labor Action assumes a most important position. There is hardly a summer school, a camp or a conference, at which some C. P. L. A. er is not present as advisor, instructor or lecturer.

Foremost in this effort is the contribution which A. J. Muste, Chairman of the C. P. L. A., is making. He lectured before the Southern Student Young Women's Christian Association Conference at Blue Ridge, N. C., on "The History and Policies of the Labor Movement in the United States." At the Southern Industrial Young Women's Christian Association Conference at Lake Toxanay, N. C., he gave a series of ten lectures devoted mainly to unemployment, wages, condition of the textile industry, on "How to Organize" and on "The Future of the Labor Movement in the South."

While this is being written Mr. Muste is lecturing at another Y. W. C. A. Conference at Camp Okoboji, Milford, Ia.

In addition our chairman addressed the National Conference of Social Work which was held in Boston in June. His subject was "Labor Representation on Boards of Social Agen-

cies." He held two conferences with C. P. L. A. people doing educational and research work in the South where he found some good work being done and an evidence of organization sentiment among southern workers despite the depression. This sentiment, in his opinion, can be taken advantage of as soon as industry picks up. He also arranged for a thorough study of the progress being made in the American Federation of Labor organization campaign which will be reported in a later issue of LABOR AGE.

While in the South A. J. Muste, as delegate from Brookwood Local No. 189, attended the Convention of the American Federation of Teachers at Memphis, Tenn., where he served as Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions. At the invitation of the Memphis Central Labor Union he spoke over station WMC on "Unionism for Teachers."

A whole raft of C. P. L. A. ers, if four or five could be designated as a raft, were at the Y. W. C. A. Summit Lake Camp, Central Valley, N. Y. lecturing, advising and conducting discussion groups. John C. Kennedy, the official camp lecturer, tells the story better than any rewrite man could hope to do so we shall let him explain his activities in his own words.

"Folks who are interested in American workers education," he reports, "would do well to take a look at the summer conferences conducted by the Industrial Department of the Y. W. C. A. They don't use any such formal and academic title as workers education, but an excellent job is being done just the same. At this conference which lasted ten days, the delegates coming from New England, New York and New Jersey were practically all from factories, stores, offices and households doing domestic work—real wage earners. Their local industrial secretaries, wide-awake young women, well posted on present day economic conditions, were with them.

"Much of the time, of course was set aside for swimming, hikes, games and social activities. The girls came for a good time and they had it. But along with the recreation they participated in a well planned program of lectures and group discussions dealing with the specific problems of industry with which they are confronted.

"Considerable ingenuity was displayed in combining good organization of all camp activities with a general atmosphere of freedom and spontaneity. So while things moved along without confusion the girls got in everything with vim, vigor and initiative. This characterizes the discussions just as much as the sports.

"Incidentally those of us who are interested in building a progressive American Labor Movement may learn something not only from the summer camps of the Industrial Department of the Y. W. C. A. but also from its activities all the year round."

Thus J. C. gives his honest opinion. With Kennedy were Louis F. Budenz, executive secretary of the C. P. L. A. and Florence E. Adams, formerly secretary of the Buffalo Branch of the C. P. L. A. As a matter of fact, on second thought, a full list of all C. P. L. A. ers at these various educational enterprises would probably fill half of this issue of LABOR AGE, so we must forego the pleasure of mentioning all of them.

At the Y. W. C. A. Camp Whelan, High Point, New Jersey, Joseph Schwartz, Chairman of the Philadelphia C. P. L. A., was labor advisor. He reports that the girls were exceedingly interested in labor problems especially when presented from the C. P. L. A. viewpoint.

William Ross, who, the readers will remember, took such a prominent part in the Marion, N. C., strike and general southern situation, lectured at the Y. W. C. A. student conference at Silver Bay, N. Y.

At Barnard and Bryn Mawr Schools for Women Workers in the east such well known labor instructors and enthusiastic C. P. L. A. ers as David Sappos, Josephine Colby and Mark Starr are guiding the thinking processes of the hundreds of working girls who attend them. It is very significant that in this great workers education activity, wherever the workers and directors are given a free choice in their selection of intellectual leadership, invariably progressives wholeheartedly endorsing the program of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action are the ones to be sought out for such tasks.

As the progressive spirit permeates



## AT A Y. W. C. A. CAMP



Every summer young women workers are brought together at various camps where they combine recreation with discussions of labor problems. These Y. W. Camps and the summer schools for women in industry constitute the most important workers educational activities now carried on in the United States.

the women workers who are gathered together for purposes of education and recreation, most of them unorganized, and the college boys and girls who are giving earnest consideration to the social problems confronting America, it enters into the ranks of the organized workers as well. On another page we record the convention of the American Federation of Teachers which in itself is a milestone in advanced labor development. Another instance pointing to the forward attitude of Labor, at least of a fighting minority, is given by the convention of the Montana Federation of Labor, held at Great Falls, June 24-28.

"The struggle to initiate a referendum," enthusiastically informs Chas. W. Gardner, a staunch progressive and militant member of the C. P. L. A., "to amend the State Compensation Act has brought new life into the State Federation. All of the daily press, mining, banking and public utilities and insurance companies were fighting the petition to initiate the change. Labor, however, overcoming tremendous obstacles did get the required number of signatures necessary to initiate new legislation. But civic officials refused to certify many of them. In the final showdown the amendment petition was lost but Labor is aroused and progress seems certain among the Montana unions.

"A fighting candidate was elected

president at the 1929 convention, Jas. D. Graham, an old time machinist and Socialist. His efforts in the last six months, since he assumed office, in the compensation fight and in the rebuilding of the Federation were unfiring. In him the Labor Movement has a true progressive champion."

Gardner adds that a number of excellent speeches were made at the convention, one of the most outstanding being that of Fraternal Delegate Berg from the Alberta Federation of Labor. He emphasized the need for a new social order. Chancellor Brannon of Greater University of Montana prophesied that in twenty-five years labor will be working two hours a day.

LABOR AGE, the official monthly publication of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action, was distributed among the delegates and made quite a hit.

The most significant acts of the convention which is here reserved for the end of the tale, are its endorsement of independent political action and in instructing the Executive Board to investigate the possibilities of placing a Farmer-Labor Party in the field. It also resolved in favor of the nationalization of the railroads and the five-day week and six-hour day. What more could one desire? It is progressivism all the way down the line.

Amidst all these animadversions we must not overlook the every day

activities of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action. In the South our workers are active in the field of workers education which has every prospect of eventuating later in organization activity. In addition, since last reporting, several more C. P. L. A.ers were sent down there with the proper facilities and technique to do some honest investigating and research. All that is being done down there is of such nature as to invalidate the usefulness if their work is disclosed. Readers of LABOR AGE, however, can assure themselves of exciting reading later on when results spring forth from the efforts now expended.

The same is true of our activities in the steel industry. We can inform progressives that our work is taking root. The job of necessity must be slow and is a very delicate one. Especially at the present time when the steel industry is disrupted by the present

depression our people would not last a moment if any hint were given of their identity. But we get our reports of their educational work.

Steel mills are working from 3 to 3½ days a week, with the sheet and tin mills even on a lighter schedule. The Amalgamated Association of Sheet and Tin Workers, under such conditions, naturally finds it difficult to hold the membership. Workers are slipping out of the union continuously and the local organizations, especially, are at their wits' end to discover some means of retaining its membership and making inroads among the non-union workers. A drawback in this effort is the antiquated organization methods employed by the International. The workers, as a general rule, show earnestness and fighting tendencies if properly directed. At present, however, they are left to shift for themselves, more or less, hardly being given attention at all from union headquarters.

There is a progressive element within the organization that is pushing the present administration towards greater activity. At the last convention held recently a resolution to start an organization drive among the unorganized was passed. But the leadership is not enthusiastic about the decision and cannot be looked to lend it its assistance with energy and determination.

The Progressives, therefore, do not expect big things to happen within a short time and are willing to work quietly until their opportunity arrives.

So, as the readers have already observed, our news of C. P. L. A. activities covers a wide and scattered front. As we go along in time new contacts give us new opportunities until shortly, our front will be analagous, we hope, to the boundaries of the United States. But certainly any month's tale cannot be complete without some word about our national unemployment insurance drive. That is now the concentrated activity of the C. P. L. A. But before going into that there is another item of interest that should be included here. On August 1, Louis Budenz, in charge of our organization department will open an organization drive in New York City among the unorganized workers in a branch of the dressmaking industry. Readers may watch the newspapers for progress in this campaign. The job he will tackle is one of the hardest in the needle trades. Numerous efforts have been made in the past to organize these workers without success. Therefore, a great deal of interest is attached to this latest organization effort.

And now for the unemployment insurance campaign. When this copy of LABOR AGE will be in your hands, noon day meetings before factory gates discussing the problem of unemployment insurance shall already have been started. Our first effort will begin within the confines of Greater New York. Later as we gain momentum we shall no doubt include a greater area. Literature is being prepared on the question. We urge all progressives, no matter where they may be, to organize conferences and meetings on this momentous question. Buffalo, N. Y., and Philadelphia, Pa., are planning conferences the coming fall.

We emphatically wish to deny the rumor that the Conference for Progressive Labor Action is refusing any further contributions for its 1930-31 budget. Try to mail us a check and expect to have it returned. We can use every bit of assistance interested readers, members and friends can give us. Thus far the response to our program in general and to our unemployment insurance drive in particular has been fine. It could be finer, however, and we are all hoping that it will be the finest response any organization ever received.

*The following statements were issued by the C. P. L. A. on the Fish Communist investigations and on the demand by Woll of a general embargo on Russian imports which received wide publicity.*

We note that your Communist investigating committee is to continue its hearings in New York City on Tuesday, July 15. We oppose vigorously the expenditure of any public moneys for such unnecessary purposes when millions of men, women and children are suffering because of the present depression. A far better public service and one much more patriotic could be rendered by using the funds for some relief of the unemployed, extremely inadequate as it would be.

Your committee can obtain full information of the Communist activities by the expenditure of a few cents in the purchase of The Daily Worker and the published theses of the Communist party. There is no need to call so-called expert witnesses at \$20 a day to tell the committee what any one can read in the newspapers.

We are aware that this whole investigation is an attempt to divert public attention from the bankruptcy of the Hoover Administration's program on unemployment.

\* \* \*

A new world war will develop out of the program sponsored by Matthew Woll in the name of the American Wage Earners' Protective Conference for an embargo of Russian products. If this policy is adopted by the United States Government it will not only cause the prohibition of Russian imports but also of imports from Italy, Belgium, the British colonies and from every other country having colonial possessions. In these countries actually enforced labor exists for the purpose of capitalistic exploitation instead of the fiction of forced labor in Russia promulgated by Mr. Woll. Already irritated by the Grundy tariff the sentiment aroused internationally against the United States would place this country in an unenviable position.

We feel that a number of the unions affiliated with the American Wage Earners' Protective Conference do not view with favor the new Woll policy nor its unpleasant consequences. That organization was formed to secure tariff protection for products manufactured by certain industries in which union workers are employed. Certainly the billion dollar tariff is adequate to cover all possible manufacturers seeking protection.

With such samples of forced labor as we have in America under the yellow dog contract it is surprising that Mr. Woll has gone so far afield with his embargo program. It would be much more

helpful to American workers if the energies of union labor were mobilized for an embargo on yellow-dog, company-union and so-called welfare work products.

It is particularly unfortunate that an American labor leader issues a statement at a time when it will give aid and comfort to the notoriously anti-union manganese trust, which is conducting a similar campaign against Russian importations. We do not hesitate to say that Russian manganese union workers are enjoying a greater measure of economic freedom than that accorded the non-union workers of the manganese trust.

*A Scripps-Howard editorial.*

#### GOOD OUT OF NAZARETH

Last October the American labor movement could appropriately have repeated the Biblical query as to whether any good thing could come out of Nazareth. A strike was declared against the Kraemer Hosiery Co. in Nazareth, Northampton County, Pa. Judge Russell C. Stewart, of Northampton County, speedily granted an injunction on the basis of the "yellow dog contract" theory. The organizers were enjoined against requesting the strike breakers to join the hosiery union.

Louis F. Budenz, special organizer for the American Federation of Full-Fashioned Hosiery Workers, went to lead the hosiery strike at Nazareth. He decided on action to test the "yellow dog" injunction. Accordingly, on July 8, he wrote Judge Stewart that at high noon on July 14 he proposed to violate the injunction by going to the Kraemer plant and inviting the first strike breaker he met to join the union. Budenz did as he said he would. After some hesitation detectives arrested him and took him to Police Headquarters. The Prosecuting Attorney said Budenz had committed no offense. For the time being the force of the injunction seems to have been broken.

Contemporaneous with this came another victory. The most active among the Nazareth strike breakers was one Edward Singher. The strikers learned that he had entered the country illegally from Canada. They decided thereupon to apply to him a method frequently employed by anti-union forces—namely, to have him deported. They brought action in the Department of Labor, and now the Commissioner General of Immigration, Harry E. Hull, has ordered Singher to depart to the country of his choice voluntarily or face forcible deportation.

Things are looking up for labor in Nazareth.

# In Other Lands

## GREAT BRITAIN

Ramsay MacDonald reviewed his government's work since it took office in a recent edition of the London Herald and a more flat and uninspiring paper I have never read from the pen of a Labor Government leader. He told of the few bills passed, of the increase in the dole, and the additional numbers receiving it, of his efforts to pass the Coal Bill, attempts at improving the country's educational system—this last was sadly bungled through sheer ignorance—and lessening unemployment. MacDonald and all the leading labor spokesmen stress the Liberal failure to give them better and more consistent support overlooking the fact that Lloyd George and his associates are capitalist politicians first, and friends of labor second. His weeping and wailing at Tory opposition and his call for national emergency support from the Tories is sentimentalism gone mad. There is no call to arms anywhere. The note of the middle class reformer is heard everywhere, and militancy, except where a Mosley or a Maxton steps into the breach and makes a nine day wonder with some near revolutionary proposal, is nowhere observed. The cheese paring and pointless pacificism of the Government on one hand, with its dodging and halting on Egyptian and Hindu questions on the other, have forced some of MacDonald's best friends into open hostility. Some one told MacDonald a few years ago that he was a statesman and he not alone believes it himself but it has become an obsession with him.

Still the tide has not turned against MacDonald and the Labor Party, as the late bye-election in Norfolk proves. This most conservative district was held, in the face of a bitter onslaught, by a reduced vote for Labor, it is true, by Mrs. Noel-Buxton, wife of the former member, now a peer.

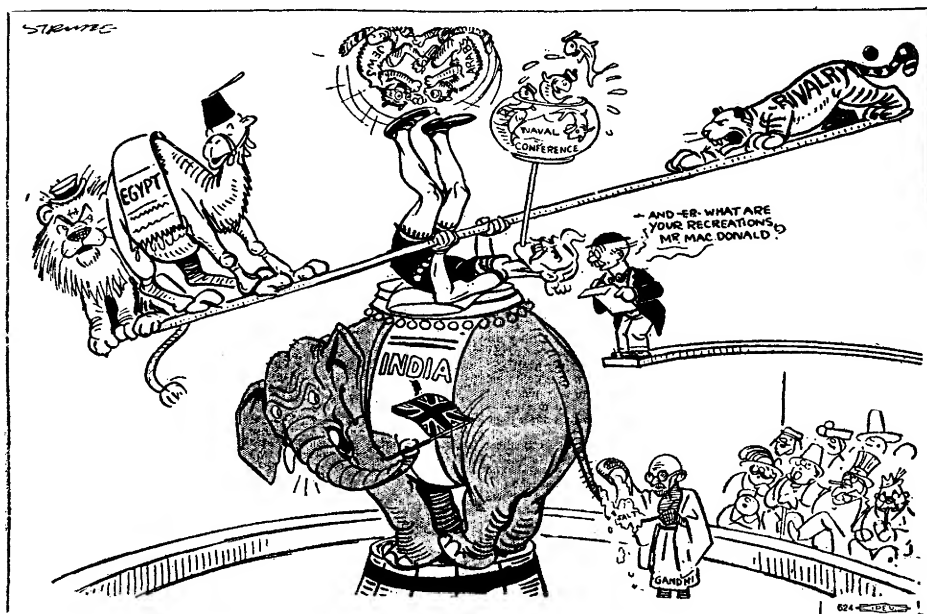
In industrial sections, particularly in Scotland and Wales, severe criticism is heard daily. The party workers, the membership and their friends are losing patience with the tedious and precarious ways of the Ministry. The strong Catholic districts are riled over the educational measure. The budget with increased taxes for the wealthy was safely passed. It was not revolutionary but it was a start towards making profiteers pay for damage caused by the system.

One notes The Herald is improving and is becoming a rattling good paper. While the Herald supports the Government, it is reasonable with the Left,

whose leaders favor a definite and progressive policy for India and Egypt and who emphatically condemn the Iraq double dealing. One gathers that many men in the Right and Center groups are in accord with the Left Wing members in their demand for full Dominion status

talists. It brings to mind the unemployment problem. MacDonald says it is universal but he was answered by a Left Wing writer who stated that for every man put to work by the Thomas scheme, the rationalizers throw three men on the street.

## AT THE CIRCUS



A busy day in the life of Britain's Premier.

for India. Party loyalty, however, keeps them in line in the House of Commons.

As for Egypt one finds the same old muddling, though Henderson did say to the Cairo delegates "take it or leave it" when he offered part independence with a string to it and no surrender on the Sudan. Egypt is now taking more courage and is rather boldly telling London, "Hands off." Parliament's defiance of the puppet king and its insistence in assembling and doing business appealed to British radicals. So, too, was the Cairo Premier's hit back at Henderson regarding outside interference. As the Nile waters are the life of Egypt one appreciates Cairo's stand on the Sudan.

Although Britain is the classic land of municipal ownership and the first important industrial nation to have an all Labor Government, a high financial authority stated that the Nation owned very little property outside of the utilities and naval and military instruments, etc., while the country had an appalling debt running into billions. That does not indicate a near approach to Socialism nor an expropriation of the capi-

One of the contradictions of the Labor Government is its continuance of the Tory policy of opposition to International Labor Legislation. American, north and south, Irish, French, German and other delegates to the International Labor Conference at Geneva have tried to follow up the good work done at Washington many years ago by endorsements and improvements and new recommendations for more and progressive action, but Britain always stood in the way. It was so at this year's Geneva Conference. It explains why Miss Bondfield, the only woman cabinet member in the world, was denied the honor of being President of the Conference or one of its sessions. Britain opposed the move to curtail the hours of commercial employees this year and that, too, with Miss Bondfield a delegate representing her cabinet headed by MacDonald.

## FRANCE, GERMANY AND ITALY

Paris took its troops from the Rhine and the Reich moved in with rejoicing. It would have been a pretty affair with

(Continued on Page 28)



## "Say It With Books"



### Wages and Trade Unionism

**Real Wages in the United States—1890-1926**, by Prof. Paul Douglas. Houghton-Mifflin, Publishers, New York. \$7.50.

**W**ORKERS receive higher wages when they effectively demand more. The case for unionism can thus be proved from the mass of statistics which Professor Douglas has compiled. Though the author comes to the conclusion that trade unionism was not the primary cause for the increase in real wages in the period with which he deals, the opposite conclusion appears to be more logical. Here are some of the facts:

Douglas' statistics clearly show that union trades and industries pay a considerably higher scale of wages than non-union industries. This is consistently so, through periods of depression and of "prosperity."

Unions appear to be directly responsible for most of the increase in real wages—that is, wages measured in terms of what can be purchased with them. The author discovers that there has been a 38 per cent increase from 1890 to 1926. Fitting Douglas' figures into the picture, it appears to have come about in this way: Up until the war Douglas' figures show a very slight wage gain. The important advance came rather in shorter hours—largely, it seems to us, won under union initiative. Then beginning with 1915 wage rates rose. This apparently was labor's demand that they keep in line with rising prices. It appears reasonable to assume that this pressure was exerted largely through unions. It is also true, of course, that the expanding markets and the relative scarcity of labor was important in securing wage increases during the war. Douglas concludes that the increase in real wages that occurred during this period is accounted for by the lessening of unemployment and increase in overtime. Then during the depression through 1921, wage rates did not fall as rapidly as prices. Here undoubtedly, employers were cautious—fearful of unions, present and potential.

Because of unemployment, however, workers were worse off (that is, real wages declined). Then in 1922-1923 employment filled out the pay envelope and the American worker had all the essentials of an increase in real wages. He had higher wages rates, full time employment and lower prices. Hence Douglas' figures here show a substantial increase in real wages.

The case for unionism extends further. Since 1923 the American worker has not presented the vigorous organizational front which had previously been developed. As union membership and enthusiasm has sagged, it has been reflected in wage figures. Not that real wages decreased. They show a slight increase in the author's figures. But this increase is insignificant compared to the rapidly expanding figures for profits and capital accumulation, which Douglas does not sufficiently stress. Indeed if the figures on the present depression be computed, we feel sure it will indicate there has been no gain in real wages since 1923. The case for unionism, it appears, is thus again proved. Rising efficiency, rising profits—but not rising wages.

Besides the figures on which the above conclusions have been based, Professor Douglas' book is a mine of exceedingly valuable information on levels and changes in wage rates, cost of living, real wages, unemployment, free income, and many other factors affecting the worker. It contains not only statistical averages of all industries, but industries are also separately studied. Representing as it does an important contribution by Professor Douglas running over eight years' work, it is well worth using for all students of wages. The mass of statistical material is an important contribution. It can safely be said that any student of workers' conditions can find either analysis or reference to all the statistical material available.

When one considers, however, not the statistics, but the way Douglas uses them, one is very much disappointed. For he appears unfortunately to be concerned to prove a thesis. Professor

Sumner Slichter once remarked, "Quantitative economics can be of little assistance if statisticians and mathematical economists are too completely preoccupied with verifying the propositions of static doctrine." Douglas may be here used as an example, for he contends, "the increase in value productivity will cause wages to rise (at) approximately the same (rate) for similar labor."

Douglas, he it noted, is not exactly stating the orthodox economic theory that labor tends to receive what it produces. He is contending, however, that the increase in wages is due to "value productivity."

Leaders of labor will find a restatement of a problem facing unionism where Douglas notes that the higher level of real wages has made less potent the older attitude toward unionism. Are there other contrasts of trade unionism and other collectivist programmes that can stimulate the imagination and energy of workers?

In general Professor Douglas' conclusions may be criticised. The statistics, however, are fundamentally important. On this score the book is exceedingly valuable to labor students.

W. ELLISON CHALMERS.

### FINANCE LOOKS ABROAD

**America Looks Abroad** by Paul Mazur, Viking Press, New York. \$3.00.

**A**LL the talk about a new era of crisisless capitalism has melted away before the heat wave of the depression ushered in last fall by the stock-market smash. All the index lines of production and sales still run downwards at the date of writing in mid-July. The prosperity prophets have gone for their vacations hoping that business will really pick up in their absence and that people will forget their burlblings about "the revival of trade."

In his book, Mazur describes with all the wisdom of hindsight, how the crash came. He also shows its industrial basis in the relative overproduction in the key industries. With praiseworthy clarity he



lays bare the causes of the astounding productivity and expansion of America. The previous role of borrower played by the United States has been reversed to that of lender. Europe laid the foundation of our industry by her capital loans and now we, in turn, are revolutionizing European industry by the sale of American commodities and foreign investment.

The dilemma of American capital, in the opinion of Mazur, is that it must have a greater export trade to dispose of the home surplus. At the same time, productivity is increasing. By the help of United States capital, Germany has achieved a surprising comeback. During the war our exports increased from 3.6 billions of dollars in 1915 to 8.1 billions of dollars in 1919. How have these goods been paid for? Partly by European exports, visible and invisible. But very largely because interest on loans and sale payments have been ploughed back into the soil of Germany and other countries there further still to extend United States penetration. That, however, is only postponing the problem of payment unless our capital can swallow up the world. Goods, says Mazur, will have to come in, and he talks about the imminent war on the tariffs. If the tariffs are maintained then there will be a further expatriation of capital to dodge the retaliatory measures that Europe is beginning to take. Mazur forecasts that within the next ten years we must face an import *surplus* of one-half to one billion dollars; at present there is an annual export balance of 0.8 billion dollars.

How will this country, the colossal creditor, face that changed situation? The author thinks that the tourist trade, already valued at \$782 millions in 1928, can be increased in Europe and that more works of art will be purchased by Americans, which sounds like giving a pill to the earthquake. He further advises to take the tariff out of politics and place it in the hands of a planning commission composed of business experts to make directed control of industry a possibility during the period of adaptation.

Europe will adopt our mass production, instalment purchase, and the high wage policy, the latter the author believes is practised with a few exceptions universally in America. She will scrap her old thrift ideas and caste consumption. Bata in Czechoslovakia has shown in shoe production how well Europeans can apply American belt methods. In other words, from his seat in the banking house of Lehman Bros., Mazur sees the world becoming Americanized to the greater comfort of all and especially to the profit of far-sighted financiers like Morgan and Young whose internationalism is beyond

question. High wages, too, will "abate some of the social unrest and political instability with which Europe seethes."

Wall Street is not America or Mazur would not make his assumption that the philosophy of high consumption has been faithfully and promptly applied. The industrialization of the South does not suggest pellagra and starvation wages to him but rather "a marked cultural advance, and year by year the roll-call of talented Southern poets and novelists grows longer and more promising." The possibility of free trade within the British Empire, already a declared fact, he ignores entirely. Significantly the Soviet Republic is not mentioned in this look abroad.

The trouble is that capitalist society cannot plan the equilibrium necessary between industries producing consumption goods and those producing production goods. In spite of the evident lack of well being among America's own people it will seek to seize undeveloped parts of the world to get in before its other imperialist rivals. It will tax workers at home to provide armed protection to its foreign concessions. The solution, as far as the workers are concerned, is not as the author implies, for the workers to enter into cahoots with their own section of exploiters and back causes for international conflict but to build in every way international organization which will lift up the workers' standards in every country. Mazur sees the new problem but the workers, if they will, can solve it.

MARK STARR.

### YOUTH IN INDUSTRY

The Protection of Young Workers, International Federation of Trade Unions, Amsterdam. Paper—Fifty cents.

THE future is for the young!" quotes the introduction to this concise volume on the world survey of young workers. But what kind of future can it be, it goes on to ask, if the youth is not reared in an environment that will make it "mentally and physically able to cooperate in the establishment of conditions worthy of a civilized human being?"

Looking through the pages one is struck immediately by the fact that of all countries, Russia is most advanced in regulating the working conditions of its young. Even the United States is behind that country in its care and protection of the children.

The various tables with which the booklet is replete show that on the average 14 years is the universally accepted age when children can leave school

and are permitted to join industry. But, as the survey cautions, there is a great deal of difference between statutory regulations and actual practices. Yugoslavia has the lowest age requirement for leaving school, her children being considered fully equipped at the age of ten.

Russian industry can work her children only four hours a day between the ages of 14 and 16 and six hours a day between 16 and 18, which is the lowest maximum, including the United States. Night work is universally prohibited between the ages of 16 and 18, Russia again having the best legislation in this respect. There no night work is permissible under 18 years of age. Most countries have compulsory continuation school laws up to 18 years.

Five European countries go ahead of the United States in respect to paid vacations for young workers. Austria gives its youthful producers a minimum of two weeks' vacation each year with full pay, after one year of service. Luxemburg provides for seven days holiday. Czechoslovakia is generous with six days. Poland provides for two weeks. Russian youngsters under 18 are entitled to at least a month's holiday with pay. The United States lacks any provision at all in this respect.

Credit should be given the I. F. T. U. for its impartiality when it included Russia in this survey though it is not a member of and hostile to the I. F. T. U.

"The Protection of Young Workers" is an exceedingly valuable booklet to have handy for reference. Readers desiring copies can order them through Labor Age.

ISRAEL MUFSON.

### A BOLD FRONT WANTED

The Negro in American Civilization (a study in Negro life and Race Relations in the light of Social Research), by Prof. Charles S. Johnson and others, Henry Holt & Co. New York. \$4.00.

THE closing years of the Nineteenth Century bequeathed to its successor—the Twentieth Century—a generous flood of light and knowledge that enabled man greatly to increase and improve his productive and distributive powers. Naturally this knowledge coupled with improved mechanical devices has brought most graphically to our attention, many grave and baffling problems in politics, in religion, in education, in our whole net work of industrial, economic and social organization. The Twentieth Century, therefore, may well be called the age of problems.

Of these world problems, none bulges larger into the fabric of American civilization—none by itself holds more securely in its grip the future of American democracy, and none calls forth more general confusion when discussed—

Within the last few decades, however, many scholars have uncovered important facts which throw a much needed shaft of light upon slavery: facts which when they become generally known and accepted will go far toward placing the race problem in the United States within the economic setting where it rightly belongs. Some Negro scholars have made noteworthy contributions in this regard. Such men as Carter Woodson, Benjamin Brawley, Hubert Harrison, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois. Nevertheless, most Negro writers seem unable to throw off the mantle of timidity when dealing with the Negro problem. While they ferret out the facts relating to the problem, invariably they sidestep the conclusions which, in the light of modern thought and knowledge, these facts unerringly indicate.

This is explainable on the grounds that Negroes lack the economic strength necessary to afford to their scholars and writers that measure of freedom of thought and expression which goes with economic security. The Negro intellectuals have thus been forced to rely upon philanthropic agencies for an opportunity to function, with the following result: (1) The college trained Negro finds in the fields of social service "race uplift" the only opportunity to display its talents, he has developed in that field remarkable skill and initiative. The Negro "social expert" can track down a case, analyze it, X-ray it, tag it, and present more "data" concerning it than his white confederate, who does not have to confine his ability and training to any one field.

(2) Because of the important role which these "social experts" play in the social and political life of the race, they very readily become leaders and wield great influence in Negro life. They are able thus to infuse the masses, who so largely depend upon these social agencies for help, with the notion that the propertied ruling class is the friend of the Negro, while the property-less working class is his enemy. Thus we have the encrusted conservatism of the Negro, his hostility to Labor, and his stubborn opposition to all forms of political, economic and social change.

While "The Negro in American Civilization" assays to treat of the whole scheme of Negro life in the United States, note that "the Negro in politics" was not discussed. Mr. Johnson is at present representing the Government of

the United States on the League of Nation's Committee to investigate slavery in Africa, having been appointed to that position by President Hoover. Having been editor of "Opportunity" Magazine, the official organ of the National Urban League—which is the foremost agency doing social work among Negroes—Mr. Johnson had a splendid opportunity to gather important "data" on the Negro problem. His knowledge and training had led us to believe that he would interpret these "data" and thereby fill the store house of knowledge with much ammunition to be used by the Negro in his struggle for economic and social justice. This he has not done.

The book consists of 552 pages, and is divided into two parts with an extensive and valuable bibliography. As previously said, the first half covers every phase of Negro life except his political life. The second half of the book contains a number of valuable papers written by individuals of distinction of both races. It was left to Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, however, to write what this reviewer considers the most searching, the most essential and fundamental 11 pages in the entire book. The lucid manner in which Mary Van Kleeck states the history and purpose of the volume adds toward making "The Negro in American Civilization" a work of scholarship and a fountain of information yet to be interpreted.

FRANK R. CROSSWAITH.

## IN OTHER LANDS

(Continued from Page 25)

some of the laughs on France had not the 100 per centers of Germany brutally attacked Separationists. This was followed by serio-comic protests from Paris to the chagrin of Berlin. But in the midst of the comic opera politics death takes no holiday, except to make the show more gruesome. A horrible accident due to an improvised bridge collapsed and dumped hundreds of helpless people into the river and some to their graves.

France has more gold poured into its vaults from this country and Britain to the surprise of Uncle Sam and to the chagrin of London. How do they do it? Berlin is compelled to proclaim a constitutional dictatorship to settle its finances. Hindenburg and his Chancellor will rule for ninety days without a legislature and then new elections will be held. Despite the wild talk, it is a safe bet that nothing serious will happen.

The Fascist elements despite all favorable predictions will not make any inroads in the ranks of the extremists or moderates. Germany has too many par-

ties and if the general election eliminates some of them, it will be a god-send to the four major parties. Germany has checked its unemployment and held its figure stationary for two months. This is an achievement when all factors are considered. France has little or no labor troubles and is compelled to import workers from Poland to carry on its industrial business. The French are the exception to the general rule, though their cabinets walk in and out, while premiers rise and fall. The strike in the north-east is against high prices caused by speculation.

Italy, through Mussolini, was raising Cain and doing a lot of sabre rattling and shadow boxing until the earthquake came along and put an end to the romanticism and big navy threats for a year or two. This may sound grimly humorous but it took an earthquake to silence the Duce. To repair the ravages of the quake, it will take all of Italy's surplus capital and much labor for a long time. International politics will now take a rest as far as the Italians and their imperial dreams are concerned. The Duce, however, will keep fishing in the troubled waters of the Balkans a little longer or until he applies to London or Paris for another loan. He will then be told to shut up or go without the loan. Mussolini being a realist, will obey the bankers.

## INDIA

English eye-witnesses and Indian impartial observers report a series of depressing brutal outrages on the part of the officers, soldiery and police. Women and children in peaceful meetings are clubbed and beaten and even ridden down by mounted troops. Some English writers fear concession of Dominion may come too late. All say the "Die-hards of Britain and India never learn." Peace negotiations and parleys are reported and Gandhi is being sounded as to compromise.

## RUSSIA AND CHINA

As Europe tends towards demoralization, Russia is fast mending economically. It is improving its position along its near and Far East borders and cementing its newly acquired territories. In China it is regaining its old influence and is quietly pushing on the revolutionary elements. The generals are losing ground or nullifying their influence by bickering, petty wars and graft. If the Treaty of Versailles is revised as proposed by Italy and Germany, Russia will have something to say regarding Bessarabia and its Western boundaries. China will have something to say.

PATRICK L. QUINLAN.

# WHAT OUR READERS THINK

## INDUSTRY SHOULD PAY

Dear Editor:

I read with a great deal of interest Nathan Fine's article in favor of unemployment insurance, but was very sorry to see that he has the idea, which is not particularly successful in Europe, of raising the fund to pay for unemployment insurance by contributions from workers, employers, and the state.

Unemployment should be handled in the same way that industrial accidents are handled under our Workmen's Compensation laws; that is, the fund from which payments are made should be made a burden upon industry rather than being raised by contributions from the workers and the state as well as the employers.

There is absolutely no reason why workers should be asked to contribute to unemployment relief because unemployment is in no way whatever due to the worker, whereas, at least some proportion of industrial accidents are due to the carelessness of the employees.

We have the task of converting both the Labor Movement and the public to the idea of unemployment insurance. The task of converting the public will be much easier if we say that no additional taxes will be involved except to pay for the bare cost of administration. And similarly the task of converting organized labor will be much easier if we do not have the workers required to contribute directly to the fund.

Anyone with more experience in industry would recognize the truth of this. As a matter of fact the General Electric Company in their plant at West Lynn has put in an unemployment insurance scheme in which the company matches dollar for dollar contributions of the workers, and the workers opposed the scheme so strongly that the company had to use all its powers of intimidation to get them to agree to try to work the scheme.

A properly drawn unemployment insurance bill should have a separate fund for each major industry so that the employers in each industry will be given a direct financial incentive to regularize unemployment in their industry in order to reduce the premium that they have to pay. Furthermore, the unemployment insurance commission which is charged with the administration of the law, just as the industrial accidents boards are charged with the administration of Workmen's Compensation, should be given the right to grant special credits and add special charges to the premium of individual em-

ployers according as their unemployment experience is markedly better or markedly worse than the average for their industry as a whole. This will give a direct financial incentive to each individual employer to reduce unemployment in his shop or factory.

ALFRED BAKER LEWIS,  
Boston, Mass.

## PROGRESSIVISM ADVANCING

Dear Editor:

Since the all winter strike of 1925-26 many users of anthracite are uneasy at the thought of a strike. At the present negotiations to secure a new contract when the present one expires on August 31 are being carried on between miners and operators. The operators are strong for a wage cut. The miners' chief demand is equalization of work. Equalization of work is an important demand if one realizes that during slack times only the low cost mines are operated by the companies, which in turn means unemployment to many miners for months if they happen to be working in high cost mines.

Just recently an outlaw strike took place among the Pittston Coal Company miners. Though doomed to failure because of unemployment and the opposition of the district union officials, the strike nevertheless has brought about changes in the working schedule of the company.

A general anthracite strike would at present bring disaster to the ranks of the miners, especially under the leadership of John L. Lewis. Having lost most of his soft coal territory Lewis is making a desperate effort to keep the hard coal membership intact. It is up to the miners whether he will continue his control.

The miners are disillusioned and dissatisfied with the present leadership. If a miner kicks at a union meeting the next day he is approached by the boss and is asked what is wrong. The miners are told to shut up or get out with the evident approval of many of the officials.

The operators who control not only the 247 anthracite mines but the local newspapers as well are doing everything to stem the tide of progressivism which is coming and spreading. In every little town a few progressives are popping up, and the anthracite miners will not lag behind the rest of labor.

FRED GENERAL,  
Luzerne, Pa.

## YOU AND THOSE OTHERS

For the workers to free themselves from economic slavery they must learn just what that slavery consists of—its fundamental essence. That is the giving a portion of their lives to benefiting, or trying to, others without those others giving an equal duration of their lives for the services of the first ones. That is, when workers work for others, those others must work equally long for the workers, or the workers have been economic slaves part or all of the time they have been working for those others.

The only way complicated transfer of things produced by human effort can be carried on so as to avoid some persons having to work longer for others than the others work in return, is to fix ALL prices on the hour-to-hour of human work basis. Just so long as prices are not on the hour-for-hour of adult human work basis some adults will have to work longer for other adults than those others work for them. Such a situation prevents equality of freedom between adults.

Until that fundamental truth is learned neither industrial nor political action can end the slavery of the workers, though either form of action may relieve the suffering of some workers for a time.

VAUGHN BACHMAN BROKAW,  
Del Rosa, Cal.

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# The Nation *Influential Liberal Weekly Backs C.P.L.A. Unemployment Insurance Drive . . . .*

In its issue of July 30, editorially, it says:

**G**OVERNOR ROOSEVELT'S championship of unemployment insurance before the National Conference of Governors at Salt Lake City emphasizes the timeliness of the campaign launched by the Conference for Progressive Labor Action for this form of out-of-work relief. A committee of liberal economists, actuarial experts, and publicists is now at work on a model unemployment-insurance bill, which the C. P. L. A. plans to have introduced in the various State legislatures. When the model bill is completed, the effort of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action will be to interest other labor and social organizations in the measure, with the thought that they will take the leadership in sponsoring this form of social insurance in their various States. Encouraging progress is already reported, although the campaign is hadly more than a month old. A number of labor organizations, notably the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor, have recorded themselves as in favor of unemployment insurance. The Ohio Consumers League and other allied groups have created a committee to study the best method of unemployment insurance in that State. A special organization to campaign for the idea has been formed in the State of Michigan. The demand for unemployment insurance was bound to follow the growing agitation for old-age pensions. It will be strengthened by the period of depression in which the country now finds itself.

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